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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA: OBJECTIVES, STRUCTURE AND ROLE IN THE COMMUNITY, 1908-1928

BY

Ⓒ MAUREEN AYTENFISU

A THESIS

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Date ..November 19, 1981..

Dedicated to the memory of my father,

KENNETH P. RIDDELL

whose love for knowledge

was an inspiration to all he met

ABSTRACT

The movement to establish a secular, state university in Alberta commenced in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, even before that region had been declared a province. An act providing for the establishment of such an institution was among the initial pieces of legislation passed by the fledgling Alberta government during its first legislative sitting, in 1906. And, despite widespread public sentiment that a university was premature in the province, the Rutherford administration began, in late 1906, to lay the foundations for an actual university. By 1907, a site had been chosen and the first president of the university appointed. By 1908, the University of Alberta had officially opened its doors to students.

In its origins and early development, the University of Alberta was moulded by a complex interaction of social phenomena, intellectual ideals, and political and economic exigencies. The location, the timing and the individual chosen to head this institution all had profound effects on its evolution. By virtue of its location in a new and rapidly developing region, the university was subject to the influence of certain frontier attitudes and assumptions regarding higher education. As a product of the early twentieth century, it was affected by contemporary currents of thought regarding the philosophy and structure of a university. And, as a consequence of the appointment of Henry Marshall Tory as its first president, the university became the object of a particular edu-

cational philosophy and style of administration.

Under the presidency of Dr. Tory, from 1908 to 1928, the growth of the University of Alberta may be divided into three distinct phases. During its initial period of development, from 1908 to 1914, foundations were laid for the university's emergence as a secular, centralized institution, embodying a broad range of faculties, and dedicated to a strong role in the growth of its community.

The second stage of the university's development, from 1914 to 1919, was dominated by the events of World War I. Circumstances surrounding the war dictated a delay in plans for the physical expansion of the university. However, in response to the war, the university demonstrated its commitment to active participation in the affairs of its community.

In its third stage of development, from 1919 to 1928, the University of Alberta succeeded in expanding and consolidating its structure along lines initiated prior to World War I. To the extent that its evolution closely parallelled the ideals and ambitions of its first president, the University of Alberta may be said, by 1928, to have earned the title, "Tory's university".

PREFACE

The movement to establish a secular, state university in Alberta commenced in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, even before that region had been declared a province. An act providing for the establishment of such an institution was among the initial pieces of legislation passed by the fledgling Alberta government during its first legislative sitting, in 1906. And, despite widespread public sentiment that a university was premature in the province, the Rutherford administration began, in late 1906, to lay the foundations for an actual university. By 1907, a site had been chosen and the first president of the university appointed. By 1908, the University of Alberta had officially opened its doors to students.

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Of all the factors impinging upon the development of the University of Alberta, the most forceful appears to have been the presence of Henry Marshall Tory, first as promoter and then as president, of that institution. From the outset of his dealings with the provincial government in 1906 until his resignation from the post of university president in 1928, Tory played a decisive role in translating contemporary educational currents of thought into university policy and practice in Alberta. In accordance with a distinctive, personal vision of higher education, Tory sought to manipulate the structure of the university and the mood of Alberta's politicians, professional groups and public at large on the subject of higher education. In fact, in the sense that the University of Alberta came to reflect his educational objectives, this institution may be said, by 1928, to have earned the title, "Tory's university"[1].

The following chapters constitute an attempt to evaluate the ideas and events which shaped the development of the University of Alberta, from its origins until the retirement of President Tory in 1928. On the premise that Tory's beliefs and actions were instrumental in determining the structure and character of the university, particular attention has been devoted to the role of this man in the university's foundations and growth.

---

[1] The idea for the expression "Tory's university" is derived from Richard Storr, Harper's University: The Beginnings (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962). According to Storr, Harper played a determining role in shaping the character of the University of Chicago during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER PAGE

1. Birth of an Institution: Background to the Formation of the University of Alberta 1
    - a) Trends in higher education in North America, 1870-1914 1
    - b) The University of Alberta Act - political initiatives and public reaction 9
    - c) Towards a functional university - implementation of the university act 31
    - Notes to chapter 1 45
2. Henry Marshall Tory: The Man and his Beliefs 54
    - Notes to chapter 2 79
3. Foundations for Presidential Dominance: The Tory Administration, Introduction and Phase I 85
    - a) Introduction to the Tory years 85
    - b) Tory's influence in university administration, 1908-1914 98
    - c) Revisions to the University of Alberta Act 104
    - d) Early academic appointments 112
    - Notes to chapter 3 119
4. The Emerging Academic Structure: Developments in Curriculum, 1908-1914 125
    - a) Arts and science 125
    - b) Professional education 134
    - c) Extension department 155
    - d) Affiliation with denominational colleges 161
    - e) Summary of the pre-war years 167
    - Notes to chapter 4 170

CHAPTER PAGE

5. The War Years and their Impact 180
   a) Academic adjustments in the face of war 180
   b) Tory's leave of absence 188
      Notes to chapter 5 201
6. Post-war Aims and Government Relations 206
      Notes to chapter 6 226
7. Academic Developments, 1919-1928 231
   a) Arts and science faculty 231
   b) Professional faculties and schools - applied science 234
   c) Medicine 238
   d) Commerce, pharmacy and law 245
   e) Teacher education 248
   f) Agriculture 252
   g) Extension 261
   h) Scientific and Industrial Research Council of Alberta 264
      Notes to chapter 7 275
8. The End of an Era: The Tory Years in Perspective . . 286
   a) Tory's resignation from the University of Alberta 286
   b) Assessment of the Tory years 299
      Notes to chapter 8 298
Bibliography 299

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS USED IN NOTES

UAA - University of Alberta Archives

PAC - Public Archives of Canada

PAA - Provincial Archives of Alberta

RG - Record Group

MG - Manuscript Group

f. - file

CHAPTER 1

Birth of an Institution: Background to the Formation of the University of Alberta

a) Trends in Higher Education in North America, 1870-1914.

In the field of higher education, the latter half of the nineteenth century and early period of the twentieth century were characterized by significant growth and a dramatic transformation in ideals and structures throughout North America. Under the influence of evolving trends in science and philosophy, as well as in social and economic development, traditional concepts regarding the aims and societal role of universities were challenged and, in a number of instances, overthrown. The concept of denominational control of universities was threatened, for example, by the rise of secular, state supported universities. As well, in a related development, the early nineteenth century idealistic notion of a university as an entity dedicated to cultivating morality and religiosity and preserving the wisdom of the past was questioned by a rising generation of empiricist educators[1].

Differences between the philosophical perspectives of idealist and empirical educators were manifested in a divergence of intellectual opinion as to the curriculum and role of the university in society. In the belief that a number of absolute truths exist in the world, and that the key to these truths lay in the knowledge of the past, idealist educators tended to advocate a uniform, unchanging curriculum, devoted to the perpetuation of traditional intellectual ideals[2]. Under the influence of idealists, for instance, classics and mathematics were emphasized to a similar extent in early nineteenth century American universities as in the universities of Europe four centuries earlier[3]. Other subjects taught in early European universities, such as moral and natural philosophy and divinity, also continued to constitute important components of the ninetenth century university curriculum[4].

To a limited degree, by the nineteenth century, natural science was taught in universities, but chiefly from a catechetical rather than empirical or analytical perspective[5]. Science was treated either within the conceptual framework of natural theology, in which it was bound by immutable dogma, or from the perspective of survey and classification, in which its functions were limited to compilation and recording[6]. In neither instance did it involve speculation or criticism of established views of the world.

In the majority of early and mid-nineteenth century universities, subjects were, as in previous centuries, largely prescribed[7]. Students tended, therefore, to assimilate uniform information, values and attitudes which they, in turn, perpetuated and passed on to other scholars.

On the premise that intelligence itself constituted a worthwhile end of education and that truth should be pursued for its own sake[8], idealist educators tended to present an "ivory tower" image of higher education[9]. According to this view, the university was supposed to remain aloof from the practical affairs of society. In the belief that a definite distinction existed between general and specialized knowledge[10], idealists tended to suggest that universities concentrate on a general, liberal arts education, thus leaving responsibility for specialized, vocational training to more technical institutions.

Empiricists, in contrast to the idealists, leaned toward the idea that the only secure foundation for knowledge lay in an empirical observation of reality.[11] Ideas and principles, they asserted, derived their meaning from the world of concrete existence, rather than from the realm of ideas, as proposed by idealists[12]. In opposition to the idealists' conception of absolute knowledge and truth, the empiricists contended that all knowledge was tentative and subject to reformulation on the basis of new scientific discoveries and observations[13]. Values, too, were considered relative by the empiricists. The authority for human conduct, they believed, lay in the realm of everyday life, not in a concept of absolute truth. As circumstances governing the commonplace world changed, they asserted, so should values be altered[14]. In a further contradiction to the views of idealists, empiricists held that knowledge was not intrinsically valuable, but rather acquired its worth largely as it was directed to practical ends.

Characteristics of the university curriculum proposed by empiricists included a strong emphasis on the advancement of knowledge through scientific research. The concept of liberal arts was redefined to include subjects bearing on existing problems rather than those thought by early university educators to be important constituents of a university curriculum. Instead of viewing the curriculum as an hierarchy in which some subjects were valued more than others, the empiricists considered all subjects equal in academic worth; they tended, thus, to support the principle of elective courses, as opposed to the notion of a prescribed curriculum, such as advocated by idealists[15].

Instead of encouraging a lack of involvement by intellectuals in practical affairs, empiricists tended to encourage university involvement in solving the economic and social problems of contemporary society. Unlike the idealists, they tended to endorse the university's participation in specialized and vocational, as well as general, academic training. Professional education in areas other than the traditional fields of medicine, law and theology was introduced into universities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as part of an empirical trend. And, even among such traditional fields of university endeavor as medical and legal education, a new scientific approach to training was adopted during this period[16].

Of course, not all late nineteenth or early twentieth century educators subscribed wholly to either the empiricist or idealist outlook on education. Among the most prominent and influential university leaders in North America during this period were intellectuals who, while committed to idealistic principles, endorsed empirical approaches to the curriculum and role of the university as means of attaining their philosophical ends. For example, Charles Eliot, president of Harvard University from 1869 to 1909, advanced an idealistic notion of the university's function. The university, he maintained, should stand for intellectual and spiritual domination, and for the forces of mind and soul in the world[17].

It was duty bound, he continued, to keep alive ideal standards of human behavior and belief[18]. As a means of achieving these idealistic educational aims, however, Eliot instituted a system of course electives and a scheme of liberal arts which could best be described as empirical. Eliot was among the chief proponents of the idea that the liberal arts curriculum should not be treated as absolute or immutable, but rather should be altered in accordance with the changing nature and needs of societies[19]. He was also among the earliest to introduce a system of course electives as an alternative to the prescribed curriculum common to contemporary North American colleges and universities[20].

Frederick Jackson Turner, another eminent and influential late nineteenth and early twentieth century educator, also embodied elements of both idealism and empiricism in his outlook on education. In conformity with the idealist tradition, Turner viewed intelligence as the basis of progress in society; he believed the university to have a role in training leaders. These leaders, he maintained, should be capable of resisting conformity to community sentiment and dedicated to raising the ideals of society[21]. As a professor at the University of Wisconsin, however, Turner was intimately involved in efforts to fulfill the "Wisconsin idea", an empirical concept of the university as a direct, practical servant of the state[22]. To Turner, the idealistic notion of intellectual progress went hand in hand with the pragmatic concept of social and economic progress. "The best hope of intelligent progress in economic and social legislation and administration", he stated, "lies in the increasing influence of American universities"[23].

Despite the attempts of such intellectuals as Eliot and Turner to integrate aspects of idealistic and empirical educational philosophy, the debate between these two perspectives on education showed greater signs of polarization than of resolution during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Educators, politicians and citizens alike were obliged to evaluate the relative merits and desirability of each of these approaches to higher education on the basis of their particular interests and beliefs.

The conflict regarding secular and denominational control of higher education coincided with and, in fact, owed much to the growth of empiricism in late nineteenth century American society. Under the impact of the industrial and scientific revolutions of the consequent advances in industrial and financial capitalism in the nineteenth century, North America developed a growing emphasis on the concepts of professionalism and rational efficiency[24]. Educational institutions and particularly universities, came increasingly to be seen as instruments through which to promote these ideals, and thus bolster society's social and economic progress[25].

Existing universities proved, for the most part, unwilling and unable to fulfill rising demands for specialized, scientific training. They were "unwilling", in the sense that they tended to defend an idealistic curriculum and reject the notion of a scientifically oriented curriculum, devoted to the advancement rather than preservation of knowledge and values. They were "unable" to respond to these demands in the sense that their financial resources were frequently too limited to cover the expenses of securing necessary equipment and staff for scientific and vocational instruction[26].

A legacy of denominational rivalry and competition in higher education enhanced this problem. Denominational universities tended to spread their resources excessively thinly in efforts to compete with other denominational organizations in the provision of educational opportunities[27]. The results of this trend included a network of small liberal arts colleges, overlapping in their curricula, and increasingly unable to finance the level of services demanded by society as a whole[28].

By the end of the nineteenth century, state universities in the United State and Canada had begun to outweigh their denominational counterparts in terms of prestige and influence[29]. However, sectarian organizations were, on the whole, reluctant to concede their loss of strength and stature in the educational system. Many resisted the trend to non-sectarian education; some succeeded, at least temporarily. In the United States, some denominational organizations continued to fund private independent universities, while others retained substantial influence over educational policy by infiltrating and securing control of the governing boards of state universities[30]. In Ontario, denominational organizations struggled throughout the nineteenth century to maintain their existences[31]. Despite financial problems, exacerbated by the provincial government's decision in 1868 to withhold further grants from denominational institutions, the sectarian colleges grew in number during the mid to late nineteenth century[32]. While the final years of the nineteenth and the early years of the twentieth centuries saw the affiliation of most denominational colleges in Ontario with the University of Toronto, it was only in the late 1950's that McMaster University terminated its strictly denominational status.[33] In Nova Scotia, meanwhile, controversy as to the stature of denominational education remained strong at the turn of the twentieth century.[34] And, in Manitoba, denominational resistance to the formation of a state university as a teaching, rather than merely examining, body was instrumental in delaying such a development throughout the period 1889 to 1904.[35]

Persistent conflict regarding the merits of, firstly, denominational as compared to non-denominational education, and, secondly, empirical as opposed to idealistic principles of education, determined the educational environment in which the University of Alberta was formed during the early twentieth century. Unlike a century earlier, when a dominant tradition of idealistic and denominational higher education had prevailed in North America, Albertans were confronted with myriad theories and models of the purpose and structure of a university. Their response to these divergent views of education was ultimately a function of social, economic and political conditions within the province. The attitudes of successive university administrators, governments and the public at large towards education were to determine the relative popularity of the concepts of state and denominational control, and of empirical as opposed to idealistic approaches to higher education. Particularly important in deciding the University of Alberta's character were to be the educational aims and policies of the first president, Henry Marshall Tory.

b) The University of Alberta Act - political initiatives and public reaction.

Alberta was distinguished in the early twentieth century by its lack of previous institutional development in higher education. This absence of entrenched tradition greatly affected the response of the province to contemporary trends in university development. Unimpeded by the force of institutional inertia, Alberta possessed a number of opportunities for innovative, even radical, departures in higher educational development.

Counterbalancing the freedom acquired through its paucity of previous institutional development, however, were the limitations imposed on Alberta's educational growth by the diversity in the values and ambitions of its citizenry. Albertans manifested a variety of views in the early twentieth century regarding the philosophy of education and of society in general. While on a number of important issues, such as the merits of secular, state control of higher education, the opinions of a majority of citizens coalesced, on other crucial matters, such as the detailed structure and role of a state university, a number of contradictory views emerged.

The impact of this lack of uniformity in outlook was seriously to complicate the task of creating a university capable of satisfying public expectations in its objectives and activities. Leaders in higher educational development were faced with the delicate task of either balancing conflicting interests or attempting to mould a more homogeneous perspective regarding education among Albertans.

The earliest educational ventures in Alberta were initiated, as elsewhere in North America, on a denominational basis. However, a combination of circumstances, including the relative tardiness of higher educational development in Alberta, as compared to most other regions on the continent, and the consequent exposure of Albertans to rising currents of non-denominationalism elsewhere, resulted in an early and strong trend towards secular, state control of higher education in Alberta.

During the nineteenth century, primary developments in education in the area of the Northwest Territories which later became Alberta were confined to elementary education, conducted under the auspices of religious sects.[36] As early as 1862, regular primary school classes commenced in Fort Edmonton, under the direction of a Roman Catholic priest, Father Albert Lacombe.[37]

The earliest attempts to found higher, as opposed to primary, educational institutions occurred during the late 1870's, again at the behest of sectarian organizations. Emmanuel College, an Anglican diocesan institution, was initially established in 1879 at Prince Albert, Northwest Territories. In addition to opportunities in primary schooling, the college offered a number of more advanced courses in theology and teacher training.[38]

Emmanuel College set a precedent for subsequent western Canadian higher educational institutions in its incorporation as a non-denominational school. In 1883, the college applied for, and received, a Dominion Charter granting university status under the provisions of An Act to Incorporate the University of Saskatchewan and Authorize the establishment of Colleges within the limits of the Diocese of Saskatchewan. Granted a broad mandate to confer degrees in all faculties, Emmanuel College was forbidden, however, to conduct religious tests as admission requirements, except in the faculty of theology.[40]

Far from objecting to the clause prohibiting religious tests, the college in fact lent its support to the ideals of secularism and empiricism in higher education in the northwest. In its early curriculum, it included subjects of a practical and scientific as well as moral and theological nature, thus diverging from the common sectarian tendency towards idealism at the expense of empiricism.[41] Its position in favor of secularism was clearly illustrated in 1908 when college officials expressed approval for the prospect of affiliation with the newly formed, state controlled University of Saskatchewan. College official, Bishop J.A. Newnham, commented regarding future relations between Emmanuel College and the state university that, "The church at large, the societies which mainly support our college and our students and the honour of the sacred ministry, all demand that secular education should be added to the theology which we supply".[42] Far from fearing or attempting to subvert the growth of secular education, as was the case with many sectarian organizations elsewhere, Emmanuel College authorities evidently viewed affiliation as an efficient and economical method of facilitating the development of a comprehensive educational system in the west.

The amenability of Emmanuel College officials to the concepts of secular education and scientific and practical courses was to prove typical of the attitude of denominational organizations in the northwest. The phenomenon of sectarian cooperation and support for the growth of non-sectarian universities was to become an important factor in preventing the repetition in Alberta and Saskatchewan of the secular versus denominational rivalry which accompanied the formation of state universities elsewhere in North America.

Initial efforts to create a state-controlled, non-denominational university in the Northwest Territories occurred during the late 1880's and early 1890's, under the leadership of territorial politicians and university graduates resident in the northwest. While unsuccessful in their goals, these groups demonstrated strong sentiments in favor of secular, publicly sponsored higher educational institutions.

A resolution passed by the Territorial Assembly on November 20, 1889 requested federal university land grants for each of the districts of Alberta, Assiniboia and Saskatchewan equivalent in size to an endowment obtained shortly before by Manitoba.[43] The refusal of federal officials to authorize this request, on the premise that social and economic conditions in the west did not yet warrant the establishment of a university, did not deter further efforts to provide for such an institution.[44]

A further resolution advocating the creation of a state university was passed by an assembly of university graduates residing in the Northwest Territories on September 10, 1890.[45] This resolution called specifically for the immediate foundation of a centralized, non-sectarian university to serve the whole of the northwest.[46] Contained in the resolution was the principle that denominational collegiate institutions should operate in affiliation with, rather than independently of, the proposed state university.[47] Particularly significant was the role played in the drafting of this resolution by Anglican Bishop of Calgary, William C. Pinkham. As one of the primary instigators of action to found a non-denominational university,[48] Pinkham reinforced the impression conveyed by Emmanuel College officials that western denominational leaders favored secular control of education.

Subsequent action to acquire a university for the Northwest Territories was taken in 1892.[49] On behalf of residents in this region, eminent politicians Senator James Lougheed and Frederick Haultain were requested to seek 250,000 acres from the federal government as a university endowment.[50] This issue was pursued for two years. However, due to growing preoccupation by the territorial legislature with the question of responsible government, the matter of a university faded in significance during the 1890's in the minds of western politicians.[51] The quest for a state university was not revived again until 1901, when another unsuccessful attempt was made to obtain a federal land endowment for such a purpose.[52]

The eventual success of efforts to provide for a secular, state university in the Northwest Territories was largely attributable to the work of Frederick Haultain, in his capacity as territorial premier. Keenly interested in the growth of education in the Northwest Territories, Haultain strove to imprint his personal views regarding the purpose and structure of higher education on the northwest.

In his approach to higher education, Haultain adopted a largely empirical approach. An advocate of non-denominational control of higher education,[53] Haultain asserted, in a pragmatic vein, that a university should be directly useful to society.[54] In particular, he stated, a Northwest Territories university must be devoted to scientific research as a means of promoting regional industrial development.[55] As a means of avoiding the problems associated with the existence of a number of competing institutions, Haultain urged the establishment of only one university in the Northwest Territories.[56]

The urgency of the need for legislation creating a non-denominational, centralized, state university in the Northwest Territories grew, in Haultain's view, in direct correlation to the possibility that a competing sectarian university might be established in that region. In 1903, at the same time that efforts were underway in Edmonton to establish the Methodist Alberta College, and in Calgary to create the privately sponsored Western Canada College, Haultain introduced legislation to provide for the foundation of a non-sectarian, state university in the Northwest Territories.[57] In an indication of the strength of Haultain's sentiments on higher education among western politicians in general, the university bill was passed by the Territorial Assembly, in late 1883.[58]

The pattern of higher educational development instituted under Haultain's direction in the Northwest Territories was subject to change upon the formation of the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan in 1905. Firstly, with the transfer of control over education to the provinces, the previous federal legislation providing for a state university no longer applied in the new provinces. Secondly, the decision of Haultain to pursue his political career as head of the Conservative party in Saskatchewan paved the way for new leadership, and possibly new education policies, in Alberta.

In practice, the new Liberal government of Alberta reaffirmed and implemented a number of the major principles of higher education established in the Northwest Territories by Haultain. Among the first pieces of legislation drafted by the administration of A.C. Rutherford was a bill to establish the framework for a non-sectarian, state university. Haultain's belief in the urgent need for legislation preventing denominational control of education was thus upheld in Alberta.

The driving force behind the university policy in Alberta from 1905 until his resignation in 1910 was Premier Rutherford himself. Rutherford deliberately sought to influence, not only the initial legislation providing for the creation of a state university, but the subsequent structure and timing of the development of that institution. His efforts in this regard were highly effective in moulding the initial organization, objectives and public image of the University of Alberta.

A graduate of law from McGill University, Rutherford displayed a strong interest in education throughout his career as a lawyer and politician. As a member of the Northwest Territories assembly after 1902, he served on the territorial education committee.[59] In later years, he was selected by his fellow alumni from McGill University to serve as their representative on that university's administrative board.[60]

As premier of Alberta, Rutherford paid particular interest to the development of education in the province.[61] His decision to become minister of education as well as premier was particularly indicative of his desire to wield a strong personal influence upon provincial educational policy.

Rutherford's attitude towards higher education reflected the non-sectarian scientific spirit which permeated McGill and which had also underpinned Haultain's educational policies in the Northwest Territories. Rutherford's support for the ideals of scientific research was suggested by his membership in the British Association for the Advancement of Science and in his support, as a member of the territorial assembly, of Haultain's non-denominational and scientific educational aims.[62] By 1906, Rutherford enjoyed a widespread reputation as a firm opponent of denominationalism in higher education.[63]

Under Rutherford's leadership, the passage of legislation to enable the establishment of a provincial university received high priority in the development of the province.[64] In the 1906 Speech from the Throne, the Rutherford government announced its intention to establish a state university as soon as such an institution was felt warranted.[65] Like the 1903 Northwest Territories University Act, the bill to create a University of Alberta appears to have been chiefly motivated by the concern to pre-empt the growth of denominationalism in education in the province. Significantly, however, Rutherford's actions and statements prior to and immediately following the passage of this bill suggest that he did not perceive contemporary circumstances in Alberta to warrant the immediate foundation of a university.

Like the 1903 legislation, the 1906 University of Alberta Act explicitly asserted the non-denominational character of the prospective university.[66] Like the previous legislation, and in conformity with the comments in the Speech from the Throne, the bill stipulated that the university would only be founded when provincial conditions were felt to justify such action.[67] And, while no indication has been found as to the premier's views on this issue prior to the passage of the bill, comments by Rutherford in the two months following the bill's enactment suggest that, simply by affirming the principle of non-denominationalism, his major goal had been accomplished. Speaking on the subject of the timing of university development, Rutherford indicated that the state university might not be established even during his term of office.[68] Further evidence to this effect is contained in statements by the Edmonton McDougall Methodist church pastor regarding the government's attitude towards the foundation of a university in March, 1906. According to the pastor, the provincial government seemed to, "want something done to make it unnecessary to decide the university question right now".[69]

That the overriding aim of the Rutherford government was to prevent denominationalism rather than to promote the immediate formation of a university was also suggested by subsequent statements by first University of Alberta president, Henry Marshall Tory. Tory characterized the act as a "protective" measure, designed to, "prevent the rise of small colleges which already began to put in an appearance", and as a "stop-gap" piece of legislation, never intended to function in practice.[70]

While the Rutherford government's bill dealt only briefly with the administrative structure of the proposed state university, it was notable in this regard for its divergence from the corresponding provisions of the 1903 Northwest Territories and 1907 University of Saskatchewan Acts. In contrast to these pieces of legislation, both of which provided for university senates elected primarily by members of Convocation, the University of Alberta Act proclaimed that the provincial university would be governed by a senate consisting mainly of government appointees.[71] This aspect of the university legislation, like the remainder of the University of Alberta Act, was attributable to the influence of Premier Rutherford.[72] Based on his conviction that a successful university required strong leadership by a nucleus of individuals, the premier chose to retain close government control over the character of the university's leadership. This measure was to have significant implications for future university-government relations in Alberta.

The 1906 University of Alberta bill was readily endorsed in the Alberta Legislative Assembly. By virtue of the overwhelming Liberal party majority in the assembly, the enactment of the bill was almost certainly assured, once it had received caucus approval. Debate in the assembly was characterized on both sides of the House by generous praise of the aims of the bill.[74]

In contrast to the homogeneous mood of the legislature regarding the validity of state university legislation, a wide spectrum of opinion prevailed among Albertans in general as to when and what type of university should be established. While certain individuals and interest groups pressed for the immediate creation of a university in 1906, a sizeable portion of the public disapproved such action. Underlying the broad ideals of support for, and opposition to, the early formation of a university were divergent views as to specific structure and functions of higher educaton. The late nineteenth and early twentieth century North American philosophical controversy surrounding university aims and responsibility to society was played out vigorously in the frontier society of Alberta; residents embodying various social, economic and cultural backgrounds and ambitions subscribed to different, and sometimes opposing, philosophical views of higher education. The perpetuation of this diversity in outlook was greatly to affect relations between the new university, once established in 1908, and the public to which it was financially responsible.

That the majority of Albertans rejected the establishment of a provincial university in 1906 was revealed in a report by the Canadian Annual Review on the state of education in the province at that time.[75] Further evidence of such sentiments was contained in comments by the first university president regarding his reception in Alberta in early 1908. Having arrived to take up his post as president, Henry Marshall Tory discovered that very few individuals endorsed the creation of a university at that time.[76]

Reasons for public opposition to the university in 1906 varied, but several major arguments stood out. These appear to have been rooted in a materialistic, pragmatic and egalitarian outlook common to North American frontier communities.[77] A common belief among early twentieth century Albertans, for instance, was that a university would fail to serve a useful function in their society and hence was undesirable, or at least premature.[78]

Further arguments against the university on the basis of egalitarianism and utilitarianism were voiced by an Emdonton daily newspaper, The Edmonton Bulletin, in a series of inflammatory articles and editorials relating to higher education in Alberta. After describing the university as an instrument designed to cater to the wishes of society's upper class, the Bulletin denounced the proposal for an immediate Alberta university on the basis that such an institution would serve a mere four percent of Alberta's population.[79] The newspaper suggested that the province delay the establishment of a university until the quality and extent of lower education opportunities in Alberta had been improved.[80]

The view that the widest possible extension of educational opportunities should take precedence over the creation of a university was typical of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Canadian society. One letter to the editor, sympathizing with the *Bulletin*'s stand on higher education, asserted that, "the greater the tendency to higher education, the greater the tendency to absolute illiteracy".[82]

Implicit in the criticism of the proposed university as an unnecessary institution in Alberta was the belief that a university was inherently elitist. The *Bulletin*, for instance, cited the failure of higher learning in general to improve the material status of society as a whole as a reason for opposing the immediate creation of a university in Alberta. "If the people of Athens had devoted less attention to poetry and more to agriculture", the newspaper claimed, "it might be a living power today instead of a splendid but ruined monument to the futility of trying to build a nation from the top".[83]

In answer to the assertion, by one university defender, that the University of Berlin had contributed substantially to the material development of late nineteenth century Prussia, the *Bulletin* stated that the university had been less instrumental in developing Prussia's physical strength than the needlegun, a device invented outside the walls of *academe*. In Alberta, the *Bulletin* asserted, the advancement of natural resource development should be pursued independently of, and prior to, efforts to launch a university. Until the province could boast a thriving industrial base and a more pronounced popular demand for advanced education, the government, according to the Bulletin, should restrict its involvement in higher education to the acquisition of a land endowment sufficient to house a future university.[84]

The Bulletin's views regarding the inadequacy of university education as preparation for practical, material pursuits in Alberta was echoed throughout the province. One individual, whom the first university president considered to be among the oustanding lawyers in Alberta, informed the president upon his arrival that neither he nor the university was needed in the province at that time.[85]

At the same time that public pressure was exerted to delay the creation of a provincial university, a vocal minority of Albertans lobbied the provincial government in favor of the immediate establishment of a secular, state university. Reasons offered in support of a university varied widely, and reflected a number of differing conceptions regarding the purpose of higher education. The philosophy of materialism and utilitarianism which had been invoked to condemn the construction of a university also served as the basis of efforts by some university supporters to justify the immediate erection of such an institution. And, while these individuals supported the development of a university on the basis that higher education was beneficial to the material growth of Alberta, others pressed for a university on the premise that, like any other piece of capital infrastructure, such an institution would constitute a valuable financial asset to the community in which it was situated. Yet another reason for endorsing the creation of a university was rooted in the same definition of a university as had inspired the Edmonton Bulletin to condemn plans for an immediate university. While the Bulletin depicted an idealistic, academic institution as irrelevant to the contemporary needs of Alberta, a minority of individuals saw such a structure as vital to the development of their society.

The idea that a university was essential to Alberta as an instrument of material progress was adopted and publicized by delegates to the Strathcona educational trustees convention in January, 1907.[86] Like the Bulletin, the trustees saw material development as the chief concern of Albertans of their day; "the cultural basis" of life, they postulated, "should be laid on the material and useful".[87] In contrast, however, to the Bulletin's assertion of a negative correlation between higher education and material development, the trustees predicted that a university would enhance, rather than impede, material development in Alberta.[88] And, in opposition to the Bulletin's assessment of a university as capable of serving only a minority of the population, the trustees asserted that the benefits from such an institution would accrue to society at large.[89]

The type of institution advocated by the trustees embodied the growing late nineteenth and early twentieth century empirical concept of the university as an institution dedicated to the advancement of knowledge, especially through scientific research, and to practical service to the state. It was proposed, for instance, that a prospective provincial university in Alberta provide instruction in fields of experimental science and in professions such as education and engineering.[90]

Similar in some respects to the views of the Strathcona educational trustees, but rooted in an idealistic rather than materialistic philosophy, were the arguments presented in favor of a university by William Rae, an Edmonton high school principal and self-professed spokesman for the "majority of citizens who have given this matter some thought".[91] Like the trustees, Rae disagreed with the Bulletin's contention that a university benefitted only the elite of society. He also agreed with the trustees' perception of a university as a potentially useful agent in the material progress of Alberta. In fact, it was he who had praised the contributions of the University of Berlin to the nineteenth century military prowess of Prussia.[92]

However, while the trustees had praised the concept of a university from a primarily empirical perspective, Rae, by contrast, stressed the idealistic value of such an institution as paramount. "It is not mere material qualities that make a nation great", he contended. "It is the mind alone that elevates a man and the aggregate mind that elevates a people".[93] The university was, in his opinion, a vital instrument in the process of society's intellectual elevation. University training, he felt, was the means to the cultivation of "lofty aspirations" among men and to the manifestation of "all that is best and noble in thought and character".[94] In contrast to the Edmonton Bulletin, Rae asserted that, not only university students, but society as a whole would benefit from the presence of a university in their midst; the graduates of a university, he contended, would naturally carry "the leaven of culture and broadmindedness" back to their communities, thus agumenting the character of "the whole mass".[95]

Rae's definition of the university as a vehicle through which to propogate culture was echoed in the editorial columns of the Edmonton Journal in 1906. Unlike the Edmonton Bulletin, which had cited Alberta's lack of social and cultural development as factors weighing against the immediate creation of a provincial university, the Journal viewed this phenomenon in Alberta society as a compelling reason in favor of university development.[96] The non-denominational, state university was portrayed in the Journal as a vital instrument of cultural refinement and unification in a region where immigration patterns tended to produce an undesirable level of ethnic plurality. A major aim of the proposed provincial university, in the eyes of the Journal, would be to dismantle and obstruct future growth of cultural sub-communities, by blending all races in the province into a single homogeneous entity.[97] The inferred basis of cultural unity in Alberta was the predominantly Anglo-Saxon character of the majority of the province's population.

The arguments thus far, both for and against the immediate establishment of a university, centred upon the issues of the content and aims of higher education. Among the proponents of the creation of a university in Alberta, however, were individuals and groups who evaluated the university independently of its philosophical orientation. The basis for support of a university among this sector of society was the belief that a university constituted a potentially profitable source of capital investment. The first president of the university, reflecting subsequently on the development of that institution, asserted that, at the time of its formation in 1908, the University of Alberta was treated by many Albertans, "as merely a real estate proposition".[98] One of the leading proponents of a university praised the establishment of such an institution particularly as a means of boosting real estate values in the province.[99]

The notion that a university constituted a lucrative civic enterprise was particularly evident in the efforts of a groups of financially, socially and politically eminent Calgarians to establish such an institution in their city during the early years of the twentieth century. From the outset, the provincial university was openly advocated by these citizens as a commercial venture.[100] Initial plans even called for its organization as a joint-stock company.[101] That provincial students were obliged, in the absence of an existing provincial university, to attend eastern universities was lamented by a Calgary daily newspaper, The Calgary Herald, as an unfortunate case of "diverting capital" from one region to another.[102]

Further evidence of the perception of a university chiefly as a business concern was apparent in the correspondence in 1904 between Calgary university supporters regarding the importance of such an institution to Calgary's civic development. Of apparently more interest to these individuals than the content or purpose of university courses was the potential for extensive capital development of a higher educational institution. In an exchange of correspondence with W.H. Cushing, a member of the Territorial Assembly, William Pearce, himself a prominent advocate of Calgary's development, commented that, "one thing draws another and if a university once comes, we would have Medicine, Law, Science and Astronomy and many others would follow .... Each would require its building site, Campus, sites for residence".[103] Claiming that the time was ripe for the erection of a Calgary university, Pearce, on behalf of a group including Calgary's then mayor, requested Cushing to assist in obtaining federal approval for a land endownment for such a purpose.[104] Fully appreciative of, and sympathetic to, Pearce's arguments, Cushing replied that, "I fully recognize the importance of this matter to the interests of our city".[105]

The view of the university as a largely commercial endeavor was also evident in the wake of the announcement that the provincial government intended to establish a state university in future. The Calgary Herald editorialized in favor of the construction of the proposed university in Calgary,[106] while in December, 1906, the City of Calgary formally petitioned the provincial government to locate the provincial university within its boundaries.[107] The rationale offered by the Herald for the situation of the university in Calgary was clearly indicative of the spirit of civic boosterism which underpinned the pro-Calgary university movement. The newspaper asserted that the provincial government owed Calgarians the university as just compensation for that city's defeat in its recent bid to be named capital of the province; "whichever city is made the capital", the Herald stated, "the other should have the university".[108] The university was thus perceived, if not as desirable an institution as the provincial capital, at least as a palatable alternative, in terms of augmenting the city's wealth and prestige.

In view of the aim of the 1906 University of Alberta Act to thwart the potential growth of denominationalism in higher education in Alberta, the attitudes of the major religious sects in Alberta towards the proposed state university were significant. Rather than attempting to obstruct such a measure, religious groups proved to be among the foremost advocates of the immediate development of a state-sponsored, secular university in 1906. In the tradition of Emmanuel College, they welcomed the opportunity to conduct their own, primarily theological operations in affiliation with a non-sectarian, public university.

Alberta College, a Methodist institution, and the only established denominational higher educational college by 1906, was cooperative and supportive of plans to establish a state university. The general policy of the Methodist church in Alberta was to unite with the University of Alberta to promote education in the province.

The principal of Alberta College in particular revealed a commitment to the erection of a non-political, non-denominational higher educational institution.[109]

Other denominations which enjoyed the support of substantial sectors of the Alberta population, but which had not established their own church colleges by 1906, also lent support to Rutherford's proposal for a provincial university. The Presbyterian church, having agreed to the principle of the 1906 legislation, arranged to send a "formidable deputation" to the government in December of that year to request the immediate formation of a non-denominational, state supported university by the premier.[110] The church was explicit in its demand that the proposed institution be a teaching as well as an examining body. By deliberately renouncing the claims of sectarian organizations in the sphere of teaching, the church diverged from the common tendency of nineteenth century denominational groups to try to maintain control of teaching duties.

Support for the ideal of a non-denominational university was also articulated by Anglican church leaders. This stand in favor of non-sectarian education was not surprising in view of the leadership of the Calgary Diocese of the church after 1898 by Bishop Pinkham. As stated earlier, Pinkham had established himself as an advocate of state, non-denominational control of education.[111] In January, 1907, the Calgary Anglican Diocese submitted a resolution to the provincial government echoing the Presbyterian request for a provincial university as soon as possible.[112]

Among Roman Catholics in Alberta, there was an evident split in opinion regarding the value of a state university. While some church officials were committed to the creation of an independent sectarian university to serve the interests of their church members in Alberta, others proved amenable to an arrangement whereby denominational colleges could affiliate with a central, secular state university. Prior to 1908, officials of the Jesuit order began to show interest in the creation of an independent Catholic college in Alberta.[113] However, such influential Catholic laymen as Justice N.D. Beck advised against the establishment of a separate university on the basis that, firstly, the provincial government would not sanction such a move and, secondly, that Catholics in Alberta could not afford to finance such an institution.[114] Beck proposed that Roman Catholics seek a residential Hall or College on the university campus so that Catholic students could attend the secular university while living in a Catholic environment.[115]

It was not clear at the time of the foundation of the University of Alberta which of the two attitudes towards higher education would predominate in Alberta. However, neither of the ideas of a separate or an affiliated college were pursued actively at that time; to that extent, they had little impact on the decision as to when and how to establish the University of Alberta.

c) Towards a functional university: implementation of the University of Alberta Act.

It was in the early twentieth century climate of widespread controversy regarding the purpose, structure and location of a university that the Rutherford government chose to found the University of Alberta. In a reversal of its original stand respecting the timing of university development, the government moved, beginning in late 1906, to create such an institution. In November, 1906, the Department of Education, under the direction of Deputy Minister D.S. Mackenzie, undertook a statistical assessment of the number of students currently desiring to enrol in a provincial higher educational institution.[116] Meanwhile, the premier began to seek advice regarding the appointment of a university president. During the early months of 1907, the site of the university was selected while, in the fall of that year, final negotiations were completed towards the appointment of a university president. During the spring of 1908, members of the governing body were chosen, and in September of that year, the University of Alberta commenced classes.

The nature and timing of government measures to establish the university vitally affected early relations between the government, the university and the public. By deciding to establish the university at a time when popular opinion opposed such a move, the government consigned the new institution to a period of difficult public relations. As a consequence of its strategy in selecting a president and locating the university, the government prompted a number of supporters of the concept of a state university to become bitter opponents of the actual institution. Through his policy regarding presidential powers, Premier Rutherford laid the groundwork for future presidential dominance of the university.

As in the case of the original passage of the University of Alberta Act, the key figure in determining subsequent measures towards establishing the university was Rutherford himself. The premier, in turn, was influenced in his approach to university policy by a combination of factors, including the views of concerned public interest groups, and the advice of the man whom he ultimately chose as university president, Henry Marshall Tory.

The effectiveness of public pressure in stimulating government action towards development of a university was conceded by Deputy Minister of Education, D.S. Mackenzie, in his announcement of the impending government survey of possible registrants for a provincial university in November, 1906.[117] Mackenzie reported that requests for further measures to establish a university from teachers' institutes, religious and other organizations had been responsible for that study.[118]

The extent to which public pressure underpinned government measures to create a university was probably less, however, than might be suggested by Mackenzie's comments. Given the strength of public opposition to the immediate creation of a university, as outlined previously, it seems unlikely that pressure in favor of the university would have increased sufficiently from March to November, 1906, to convince Rutherford, on that basis alone, to proceed with plans to form the university. It is more probable, in light of the exchange of correspondence between Premier Rutherford and future university president Henry Marshall Tory, that Tory played a primary role in prompting Rutherford to initiate the actual development of the university.

Rutherford first made Tory's acquaintance when the latter was engaged as a McGill University professor in negotiating affiliation arrangements between McGill and a provincial college in British Columbia.[119] Tory took advantage of the opportunity, during his occasional journeys from British Columbia to Montreal in 1905 and 1906, to visit the new provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan and observe their progress in education.[120] Rutherford, as premier and minister of education of Alberta, was a valuable source of information to Tory regarding the present and proposed state of educational development in Alberta.

The Alberta premier and McGill professor established an early and lasting rapport of understanding and friendship, based on their similar approach to many facets of life.[121] In addition to their common interest and involvement in educational administration, Rutherford and Tory shared a common academic background and a number of similar intellectual values. Both were graduates of McGill, and both evinced an interest in research. Rutherford's membership in the British Association for the Advancement of Science attested to his interest in scientific research, while Tory's profession as a scholar and instructor in the experimental fields of mathematics and physics was proof of his commitment to science.[122] A further common trait of Tory and Rutherford was their similar political affiliation to the Liberal party.[123]

Following their initial meeting, Rutherford and Tory began to exchange correspondence on the subject of education in Alberta.[124] Tory became increasingly active in recommending patterns for educational progress in Alberta, while the premier revealed a complementary desire and willingness to adhere to Tory's suggestions. Following a visit to Alberta during early 1906, Tory sent Rutherford a confidential letter outlining a number of major suggestions regarding the future of higher education in Alberta. Having strongly urged the establishment of the educational system "on old and recognized lines" in the immediate future, Tory advised Rutherford to establish the provincial university as a non-denominational, teaching body and to ensure that scientific work be undertaken, as a means of making the university a "modern creditable" higher educational institution.[125]

Tory then proceeded to offer suggestions of a more "delicate character" pertaining to the type of individuals whom Rutherford should appoint to direct higher education in Alberta. He urged the premier to accept no less than a "first class man" to organize the entire educational system in the province.[126] Such an individual, the McGill professor stated, should work in close conjunction with the deputy minister of education to establish public high schools and colleges and should be considered as potential future university president.[127]

In describing the qualifications which a general director of education should possess, Tory pointedly advised the premier against appointing any present day Albertans to such a post. Asserting that no individuals involved in Alberta educational development at the current time were capable of serving as university president, Tory warned the premier of the dangers of hiring an individual whom the government might want to be rid of several years hence.[128]

At the same time that he was engaged in efforts to influence the opinions of the premier regarding higher educational development in Alberta, Tory became involved, in his capacity as administrative representative of McGill University, in discussions regarding the possible affiliation between McGill and Alberta College.[129] From his correspondence with Rutherford, it may be inferred that Tory hoped to steer events in such a way that the Alberta government would establish a state university, and that Alberta College would affiliate with that university rather than with an eastern Canadian institution. He impressed upon the premier, for instance, the unwillingness of McGill to jeopardize possible plans of the Alberta Department of Education by itself affiliating with Alberta College.[130] That he further endeavored to spark negotiations between the government and the denominational college towards affiliation is suggested by his comments to Rutherford in June, 1906.[131] Tory stated that, "I've had a little conversation with the Alberta College principal and, as I expected, he was personally sympathetic".[132] In contemporaneous discussions with Alberta College authorities, Tory urged the college to place its work on a non-denominational basis, apparently to facilitate future links between itself and the provincial university.[133]

Further discussions between Tory and Rutherford regarding higher education culminated in the premier's decision to alter his previous university policy, in favor of sooner and more concrete action than originally planned.[134] Rutherford informed Tory in November, 1906, of his intention to inaugurate a distinctively provincial scheme of education. This was in apparent contrast to a system of provincial colleges affiliated with larger out-of-province universities, such as had been arranged between the British Columbia government and McGill University.[135] Furthermore, the premier announced his plan to appoint a general director of educational policy. He went on to invite Tory to assume this post.[136]

Rutherford's new proposals conformed closely to Tory's earlier recommendations regarding educational development in Alberta, thus suggesting a strong influence by the latter on the premier's policy. The concept of a general director of education corresponded directly to Tory's suggestion for such a position. The plan to proceed with a provincial university independently of other institutions parallelled Tory's apparent views in this regard, while the decision to seek an educational director from outside the province further conformed to Tory's advice.

Not surprisingly, Tory responded enthusiastically to Rutherford's new suggestions. Having once pronounced the proposals worthy of further consideration, he further expressed an interest in the post of general director of education.[137]

Tory was not content, however, with the extent of the premier's plans thus far for higher education. Evidently buoyed by Rutherford's positive response to his earlier suggestions, he sought to influence the provincial educational scheme further. In efforts to inspire a more comprehensive scheme than currently suggested, he informed Rutherford that, "a much larger work could in the course of a few years be (instituted) than you at present contemplate".[138] What exactly he meant by "a much larger work" was not clear. However, in the wake of Tory's latter suggestions and his evident interest in the post of educational director, Rutherford began to move more forcefully towards the establishment of a provincial university. By December, 1907, Tory had been informed confidentially that a provincial university was to be formed shortly in Alberta.[139]

Having once decided to undertake the foundation of the state university, Rutherford moved swiftly and, to a large extent, unilaterally to conclude arrangements for the appointment of a university president and the selection of a campus site. In both these matters, he encountered and overcame public resistance to his allegedly domineering personal attitude, but only at the expense of fostering a certain amount of antagonism towards the new university among an influential minority of the population.

Rutherford chose a site in Strathcona, his own constituency, for the construction of the new provincial university, thus instilling long-lasting feelings of bitterness and resentment towards the university among the proponents of a university for Calgary.[140] Refusing to accept the government's verdict regarding the placement of the university, Calgarians were to launch a concerted and lengthy campaign to secure, firstly, the relocation of that institution and, failing that, the foundation of a second university in their city. The effects of their action were to be detrimental in terms of the ability of the new university to win public support for its very existence, as well as for its initial accomplishments.

Rutherford's approach to the appointment of a university president further buttressed the ranks of opposition to the first provincial university. By assuming singular responsibility for the choice of university president, Rutherford upset a number of Albertans who felt qualified, and desired, to participate in this decision-making process.[141]

In comparison to the procedures adopted by university administrators elsewhere in Canada at that time, Rutherford's strategy of choosing a president was, as charged by his critics, both hasty and arbitrary.[142] Evidence suggests that Rutherford consulted only a few individuals prior to offering the presidential post to Tory. Frank Adams, for many years Dean of Applied Science at McGill University, claimed a large measure of responsibility for the selection of the initial University of Alberta president.[143] Advice was also received by G.P. Low, Director of the Geological Survey of Canada.[144] That both Low and Adams recommended Tory appears to have been sufficient to prompt Rutherford to invite the latter to assume the presidency. It was soon after having heard from Low and Adams that Rutherford offered Tory the leadership of the university.[145] There is no evidence to suggest that a similar, even informal, offer was made by the premier to any other person.

Following Tory's initially positive response to the offer of the presidency, negotiations ensued between Rutherford and Tory regarding the detailed terms of his prospective duties in Alberta. By April, 1907, the premier had drafted an unofficial offer according to which Tory would be named head of the provincial university and director of general educational policy for Alberta.[146] Apparently confident that his cabinet colleagues would support his actions in this regard, Rutherford promised Tory at that time that the offer would be formalized following the next provincial cabinet meeting.[147]

Rutherford's tendencies, firstly, to act as a one-man committee in choosing the university president and, secondly, to limit his list of prospective candidates to one, contrasted sharply with contemporary methods employed in selecting university leaders in other jurisdictions, such as Ontario and Saskatchewan. As pointed out by opponents of Rutherford's procedures in this regard, the University of Toronto followed a much more complex procedure. There, a distinguished panel of educators deliberated for over two months before selecting one of a number of potential candidates for the presidency.[148] In Saskatchewan, where the entire Board of Governors was involved in the choice of a university president, officials from a broad range of educational institutions were consulted prior to the preparation of a short list of six candidates for this position.[149] From the short list, further discussion and negotiations preceded the final selection of a president.[150]

The premier of Alberta's approach to the university presidency was vehemently denounced by university graduates in Alberta who had requested, but been denied, consultation by Rutherford in this matter.[151] These individuals claimed indignantly that they had been insulted by Rutherford's arbitrary action in appointing Tory.[152] The overt objections of these citizens to Rutherford's presidential selection policy resulted in a strengthening of the existing extent of opposition to the government's policy regarding university development in Alberta. They also heightened skepticism regarding the university president's competence and educational ambitions. The question was raised, for instance, as to whether a "craving for patronage" rather than due consideration of intellectual merit had motivated the selection of Tory.[153] Political motives were further imputed to both the premier and the university president in statements by provincial Conservative party leader Robertson. Robertson said of Tory in 1908 that, "I know that he is a good man and I know also that he is a red-hot Grit".[154] It was implied that Tory's capabilities as university president would always be suspect, on the basis that his appointment had been made in a purely partisan manner, rather than on the basis of the advice of university graduates in the province. "Can we not yet get our government to place the affairs of the university entirely under the control of Convocation, or some other non-political Body which will keep it above suspicion?" it was asked.[155]

Connected with the charges of partisanship in the selection of Tory were rumours that Tory was responsible for the location of the university in Strathcona.[156] Coming from such influential and outspoken politicians as Conservative party leader, R.B. Bennett, these statements were bound to gain widespread attention and to alienate Calgary university supporters even further from the new university president.

Rutherford appears simply to have ignored public requests for representation in the presidential selection process. His attitude in this regard was upheld by the provincial cabinet which, as anticipated, ratified the premier's decision to offer Tory the university presidency in October, 1907.

In conjunction with his moves to control the appointment of the first head of the state university, Rutherford established the groundwork for a large measure of presidential authority during his term as provincial premier. As in the case of his nomination of Tory as president, the cabinet affirmed the premier's policies concerning government-university relations. During negotiations leading to Tory's appointment, Rutherford laid the foundations for a broad degree of presidential freedom in formulating and implementing higher educational policy in Alberta. He promised Tory the unrestricted opportunity to redraft the University of Alberta Act and to select the kind of governing body with which he wished to work.[158] The premier further indicated that the university president should have an "absolutely free hand in all matters relating to the university", and complete "direction of the lines along which the high schools are to work so as to make them fit into the university scheme".[159]

Tory's requests for an even greater measure of presidential authority appear also to have been readily acceded to by Rutherford and his cabinet. As demanded, for example, Tory was granted a seat on the university's governing body and the right to nominate academic staff.[160]

Rutherford's attitude of cooperation and political non-interference in the direction of the university strengthened the freedom of administration already conferred upon the university president by the lack of previous institutional development in higher education in Alberta. However, the government's magnanimity in granting presidential powers could not disguise potential future restrictions to these freedoms as a result of changes in government or in the educational outlook of the public. There was no guarantee, for instance, that the university would receive comparable support to that promised by Rutherford under a different premier. Not only did the legislature as a whole express substantial misgivings regarding the decision to establish an actual university as early as 1907,[161] but such influential Liberal party members as William Cushing were to openly endorse the concept of a Calgary university. Throughout the public at large, the notion that a university was not yet necessary or desirable in 1907 or 1908 increased the initial fragility and insecurity of the university's position in society.

How the university would react to the climate of higher education in Alberta in 1908 was to be highly dependent upon the policies and actions of its first president, Henry Marshall Tory. Tory possessed both a firm set of philosophical principles regarding higher education and a strong, almost messianic, ambition to mould the university according to his personal educational convictions. Attracted by the freedom of Albertans from the force of tradition in education, and by the government's assurances of a free hand in the development of the university, Tory sought to take advantage of what he perceived as the opportunity to shape the future of education in Alberta.

To understand the nature and implications of Tory's goals for the University of Alberta's development, and the extent of his ability to implement these plans, it is necessary to examine his development as a scholar, educational administrator and philosopher. Within the context of the academic revolution which engulfed North American universities during the latter nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Tory emerged as a transitional figure. As a philosopher and educator, he endeavored to reconcile and synthesize contemporary currents of idealism and empiricism. The basis of Tory's outlook on higher education lay in an ultimately Christian idealistic conception of society; as a means to the attainment of idealistic ends, however, he came to sanction, and in fact greatly encourage, an empirical, pragmatic approach to education.

The roots of Tory's complex, synthetic approach to educational philosophy and administration lay in his early social, religious and political environment and in his subsequent education in the fields of religion, science and philosophy. With the intention of understanding his presidential policies and objectives more fully, the following chapter traces the development of Tory's outlook on education and society as a whole.

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CHAPTER 2

Henry Marshall Tory: the man and his beliefs

Born in 1864 in Guysborough, Nova Scotia, Tory was one of six children of Robert Kirk Tory and Norah Ferguson. Tory's parents were of Scottish ancestry and, like a majority of settlers in the Guysborough region, descendents of United Empire Loyalists.[1] In the tradition of the Loyalists, a sense of respect and loyalty to all things British permeated Tory's native community.[2] Thoroughly indoctrinated from an early age in the customs and ideals of Anglo-Saxon culture, Tory retained an abiding belief in the value of strong, imperial links between Britain and Canada.[3]

On the basis of the social and economic structure which characterized Guysborough during his youth, Tory acquired respect for the concept of an hierarchical society, led by a moral elite. Wealth was not considered a criterion of prestige in Guysborough where, during Tory's childhood, the economy rested primarily on fishing and subsistence farming.[4] In the absence of material wealth, intellect and character served as the chief determinants of social stature in the community. Moral, religious and social conduct, rather than the ability to amass material possessions, were viewed as essential qualification for social leadership and eminence.[5] Tory was taught that moral rectitude was an outstanding human virtue, and that life's greatest satisfaction stemmed from performing useful actions in the service of mankind.[6]

The imprint of Guysborough's social and economic structure upon Tory was to become apparent in his subsequent outlook on philosophy and society as a whole. In a reflection of the values imparted to him as a child, he was to embrace an idealistic rather than materialistic concept of society and a belief in an hierarchical society, led by an aristocracy based on intelligence and character, rather than on wealth.

Tory was particularly influenced in his outlook by the "atmosphere of political and religious intensity" which pervaded his hometown.[7] In religion, Tory developed a strong commitment to Methodism, but to a form of Methodism based more heavily on ethical precepts than on theological doctrine.

As Methodists, the Tory family belonged to one of the two major religious sects in Guysborough. Sustained rivalry between the two predominant congregations, the Methodists and Baptists, had polarized Guysborough along religious lines.[8] From an early age, Tory witnessed the potent impact of religious differences in the formation and dissolution of social and business relationships in the community.[9] Apparently disenchanted by the impact of denominational rivalry in polarizing his community, Tory was to develop a strong distaste in later life for sectarian disputes, particularly as they affected education.

In his personal religious development, Tory was greatly affected by the evangelical trend in nineteenth century Methodism. He

was parti

was particularly influenced by a minister in his hometown whom he later described as a "rough and ready preacher".[10] He came to admire the evangelical, humanistic approach which this minister, a Reverend Tweedie, adopted towards religion. Under Tweedie's influence, Tory came to view God as "a fact of human experience"; he also learned to mould his life on the conviction "that God could have a place in one's personal life".[11] This growing belief in the role of religion in everday life represented a stage in Tory's evolution towards an ethical, socially oriented outlook on religion.

Tory's early political understanding was conditioned by the sharp division of allegiance in Guysborough between the Liberal and Conservative parties.[12] Tory's father came from a family of strong Conservative supporters; his mother's family, on the other hand, had been, for the most part, staunch Liberals.[13] Tory himself took up the banner of the Liberal party.

As important to Tory's political outlook, however, as the nominal party affiliations of his family was his parents' attitude to politicians in general. The Tory's imbued in their son an openly contemptuous opinion of politicians. Although, as Tory stated, his parents remained "almost entirely ignorant of the subtilities (sic) of Imperial Politics", they taught the youthful Tory that, "stupid and irresponsible men were often appointed to fill important positions in the country and that political honors and emoluments were granted for social and other reasons to those wholly unworthy of them".[14] In his later life, Tory was to be increasingly inclined to mirror his parents' views that Canada lacked politicians of intelligence and sound moral character.[15] His low opinion of the abilities of many politicians was to become an influential force in his later efforts to encourage non-elected, highly educated citizens to guide the political decision-making process.

Faith in education as the key to society's development was strongly instilled in Tory during his childhood by his parents as well as by his community at large. Nova Scotia was reputed for its stress during the late nineteenth century upon the value of education. "Nowhere else", according to historian J.R. Kidd, "was held so tenaciously a sturdy faith in the worth of schooling".[16]

From the outset of his schooling, Tory expressed an insatiable appetite for knowledge. He read widely on a variety of topics, including religion, philosophy, science and history.[17] He excelled in his studies, showing a particular aptitude for mathematics.[18] By the age of fifteen, Tory had attained the highest measure of public schooling available in Guysborough. He was deeply interested in pursuing further education at this time, but postponed his plans until he had acquired sufficient funds for this purpose.

After having worked as a clerk in a general store for almost three years, Tory faced a problem as to which of several avenues of higher learning or career development to pursue. His employer at the store, impressed by his business capabilities, invited him to continue at his position in the store.[19] His mother, meanwhile, urged him to become a minister.[20] Tory himself gave serious consideration to a third option, that of studying law.[21]

Tory's ultimate decision to study for the ministry was the product of "a definite religious experience" through which he passed while still employed at the Guysborough general store.[22] He did not elaborate as to the nature of this experience. However, his positive response to the call of religion foreshadowed his lifelong tendency to shape his educational and career decisions in accordance with his perspective on religion.

As a means of financing his divinity studies, Tory chose to teach public school.[23] After having passed the educational requirements necessary to attain a valid teacher's certificate in 1882, he taught school in the Guysborough region for three years. His experience in this regard substantially affected his future career, in several respects. For one thing, his teaching career provided him with the necessary funds to undertake university studies. As well, it awakened in him a realization of his talent for, and enjoyment of, teaching as a profession.[24] The personal satisfaction which Tory attained from teaching, in the sense of contributing to the welfare of his community, was not to be matched in his subsequent experience as an apprentice minister. A growing religious and moral compulsion to enter the profession in which he could most benefit humanity, combined with his personal preference for teaching, were to be influential factors in Tory's eventual choice of education, rather than the ministry, as a lifelong career.

From the outset of his preparation for the ministry, Tory manifested an anti-theological bias. Rather than concentrating primarily on theological studies, he initially sought an arts degree as background to his planned divinity studies.[25] The effect of this decision was to orient him even further away from theology and a ministerial career. Under the influence of his studies in arts and science, Tory was to gravitate increasingly towards the secular field of theology as a means of realizing his spiritual goals.

Particularly crucial to Tory's religious and educational development was his decision in 1886 to attend McGill University, rather than the smaller, denominational Mount Allison University, as originally intended. At McGill, he was exposed to strong currents of educational non-denominationalism and centralization, philosophical idealism and scientific research. Non-sectarian in nature, McGill was characterized during Tory's student days by efforts to make it a "truly national", centralized university, along the lines of Oxford University in Britain.[26]

Under the leadership of William Dawson, McGill devoted increasing attention to the development of experimental fields of sciences, so much so that, upon Dawson's retirement in 1893, the faculty of arts was considered more in need of support and expansion than any other faculty.[27] A proponent of uninhibited scientific research, Dawson asserted, in response to theological attacks on empirical science, that the Bible had nothing to fear from science.[28]

During Tory's period of studies at McGill, that institution acquired world renown for its leadership in experimental physics and medicine.[29] In the field of humanities as well as science, unrestricted intellectual criticism along rational, scientific lines was encouraged by such McGill professors as the distinguished philosopher, J.C. Murray.[30]

Tory was particularly influenced at McGill by principal William Dawson, philosopher professor J.C. Murray, and mathematics professor and vice-principal, Alexander Johnson.[31] Tory had met and been impressed by Dawson's scientific outlook even before his entrance into McGill.[32] Like the McGill principal, he was to develop a strong emphasis upon scientific research as a legitimate and, in fact, central concern of a university. Like Dawson, he was to adopt the attitude that science did not constitute a threat to theology. In his own studies, Tory pursued and excelled in the physical science fields of chemistry and physics.[33]

The effect of Murray's teachings upon Tory was to assist in convincing the latter, during a period of vibrant debate and controversy in the field of philosophy in North America, to try to synthesize rather than choose between the tenets of idealism and empiricism. It was Murray's goal, for instance, to reconcile the idealistic and empirical views of psychology and to "mediate the claims of empirical science and the needs of the spirit".[34] An avid follower of scientific discoveries in the world, Murray encouraged rational, unrestrained criticism and challenge of accepted ideals and doctrine.[35] Prompted by the impact of scientific discoveries in questioning Christian scripture and dogma, Murray came to reject the centuries old concept of the Bible as an infallible document. He came to believe, along with a number of other late nineteenth century idealists, that the Bible was not accurate in a literal sense, but that it embodied a worthy ethical doctrine, and should therefore remain a guide to human conduct.[36] Rather than viewing science and religion as conflicting and irreconciliable approaches to human existence, Murray sought to link the two. An essential unity existed, he maintained, between mind and matter, spirit and substance; the philosophy of mind and the physics of the body, he believed, were moving ever closer together.[37]

As a student at McGill, Tory did much work under Murray's supervision.[38] Murray's concepts of religion, philosophy and science were to be instrumental in steering Tory towards an attempted unity between idealism and empiricism in his own perspective on life and education. Tory came to reflect in his own subsequent ideas and actions the notions that spirit and substance were part of a unified whole, and that society was an organic whole comprising different but complementary classes. He adopted the belief that science and theology were but two different avenues of approach to a similar end, that is, truth and the ultimate spiritual salvation of mankind.[39] Like his philosophy professor, Murray, Tory came to advocate unhampered rational analysis and criticism of traditions and dogma as effective techniques in the quest for knowledge and progress.

Under the combined influence of his studies in science and philosophy at McGill, and his concurrent religious activities within the Methodist church, Tory was to develop a growing dedication to science, as opposed to theology, as the path through which he would personally contribute to the spiritual salvation of mankind. Eventually abandoning his ambition to become a minister, he concentrated increasingly on a career as a scholar.

This transition was not sudden, however; nor did it imply a renunciation of Tory's faith in Christianity. Throughout his student days, he remained loyal to his goal of becoming a Methodist minister. He acquired a reputation for extensive involvement in extracurricular religious activities while studying for his degree in arts and, subsequently, while working as an instructor at McGill.[40] In fact, he became sufficiently well-known for his involvement in church affairs to earn an initially icy response from Sir William Macdonald at a meeting with the latter. Macdonald was an eminent McGill benefactor, but a firm and outspoken opponent of denominationalism in education.[41]

In his attitude to religion and the church, however, Tory manifested a growing anti-theological and anti-ecclesiastical bias. In this respect, his views were similar to those preached by members of the growing Social Gospel movement in North America. Like the proponents of the Social Gospel, Tory displayed a desire to achieve the Kingdom of God, not in the Hereafter, but in the secular world of man.[42] In the tradition of the Social Gospel, too, Tory promoted individual salvation in a social sense, through the media of knowledge and education. Adhering to the Social Gospel principles of unity between the spiritual and secular aspects of life, Tory became intimately associated with the work of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) during his years at McGill.[43] The aims of the YMCA included the mental and spiritual, social and physical improvement of young men.[44] The association emphasized social and educational activities, as opposed to the traditional technique of scriptural studies as means of spreading the gospel and promoting the spiritual fulfillment of young men.[45] In addition to serving as an officer of the McGill student branch of the YMCA, Tory participated actively in the formation of a new college arm of this organization in 1905.[46]

Further evidence of Tory's tendency to conceive of Christianity in secular and ethical, rather than theological, terms is derived from his experience as an apprentice minister following his graduation from McGill with a bachelor of arts degree. He criticized the preacher to whom he had been assigned as "a bit too theological" in his approach to the gospel.[47] In conformity with the Social Gospel notion of salvation as attainable in the secular world, Tory strove to deliver addresses of a "useful and practical" nature, and to structure his sermons so as to convey pointed moral and ethical lessons.[48]

Significantly, from the outset of his experience as a preacher, Tory found himself unable to expound for more than fifteen minutes on a religious theme.[49] He further confessed to feelings of nervousness in the pulpit which he never encountered in the classroom.[50] These difficulties in conducting church services may have been caused by a less than total certainty of, or commitment to, the principles of the Methodist church. That he felt more comfortable in an educational setting suggests that he was more sure of, and more dedicated to, the school than the church as a means through which to promote human progress.

Despite his personal doubts as to his ability to preach, Tory's ability as a student minister was sufficient to earn him an offer for the extension of his one year preaching contract. Tory did not complete the second year of his appointment, however. He opted instead to accept an appointment at McGill as a lecturer in mathematics. His action in this regard was further indicative of his tendency to associate the fulfillment of his religious goals in life with a secular rather than theological career. He professed to having been impelled, in a religious sense, to accept the teaching position at McGill.[51]

While lecturing at McGill and undertaking further courses towards his degree in divinity, Tory also engaged in advanced studies in philosophy, mathematics and English after 1890. To a growing degree, he became interested and involved in laboratory research. During the summers of 1892 and 1893, he travelled to Cambridge University in England to further his studies in mathematics and physics under such brilliant and renowned scholars as Ernest Rutherford.[52]

Returning to McGill in 1893, Tory continued throughout the next decade to play an increasingly active role in scientific research and teaching at that university. He participated actively, for example, in the organization and supervision of McGill's experimental laboratory work in physical science.[53] In addition to his salaried work, he played a vital role in establishing the Physics Society of McGill to promote discussion and research among students and professors at the university.[54] In further efforts to expand and stimulate scholarship and debate, Tory wrote and published articles in such academic journals as the Journal of Physical Chemistry and the Philosophical Magazine.[55]

Beyond his expanding role as a scholar and instructor at the university level, Tory displayed growing interest and involvement in the professional field of higher educational administration. His talents in organization and personnel management were recognized and exploited by McGill authorities.[56] He began after 1900, for instance, to assist Dean Moyse in administering the faculty of arts.[57] As well, he was assigned an increasingly influential role in conducting affiliation negotiations between McGill and smaller, liberal arts colleges in the Maritimes and western Canada.[58]

Tory's activities in this latter regard both reflected and further strengthened his desire to promote the principles of non-denominationalism and centralization which characterized McGill's approach to higher education. By 1900, Tory was a strong advocate of affiliation between McGill and small, regional higher educational institutions throughout the country.[59] He associated denominationalism in education at this time with the denial of "benefits of education in a large and general sense" to the public.[60] He proposed strong and immediate steps in the early 1900's to make sectarian universities "unnecessary", and competition between them impossible.[61]

In conjunction with his affiliation duties at McGill, Tory took advantage of the opportunity to inspect the administrative systems and curricula employed in schools and universities throughout Canada. By 1906, he had earned a reputation as having "greater practical knowledge of schools than any other Canadian.".[62]

Another aspect of McGill's organizational development in which Tory assumed an influential role related to the foundation of a graduate school.[63] His efforts in this regard reflected his adherence to empirical trends in education as means of accomplishing his idealistic goals of human progress. Like empiricist educators in general, he supported the concept of graduate schools as means of stimulating intellectual discoveries and thus contributing to the advancement of human knowledge. Appointed chairman of the Dean's Committee to Investigate Higher Education in 1905, he proved instrumental in stimulating the foundation of McGill's graduate school in the following year.[64] Like those empiricists who viewed education in terms of its ability to promote the material wealth of society, Tory asserted that graduate research work was necessary to Canada's political and economic self-respect and independence.[65]

The growing activity, influence and personal satisfaction which Tory experienced in connection with his academic career at McGill were apparently not matched by a similar enjoyment of his role in the Methodist church. As he became increasingly involved in teaching, research and administrative duties at McGill, he was obliged to assess closely his prospects for future relationships with the church and the university. After considerable deliberation, he decided in 1906 to resign from the Montreal Methodist Conference, thus effectively relinquishing his career as a minister.[66] His motives for this decision evidently included both a growing belief that his Christian duty was to contribute to mankind's progress as a scholar and educator, and an apparently increasing sense of inability to accomplish his religious goals within the contemporary church.

Evidence of Tory's growing alienation from the ministry was revealed in his letter of resignation from the Montreal Conference of the Methodist church. Apparently in disagreement with the priorities of the church in the community, he informed the church authorities that, "I do not feel justified in remaining any longer under the nominal control of a body whose dictates I would not feel justified in obeying if they were to order me to do work other than that I am now doing, work of which they take no cognizance and for which I receive no recognition.[67] In a further illustration of his disenchantment with the established church as a means of achieving religious goals, Tory spoke publicly, following his departure from the Methodist ministry, of the need for some men to assume an anti-ecclesiastical posture in the search for religious end.[68]

However, while disenchanted with the structure of the Methodist church, Tory gave no thought to forsaking Christianity altogether. Stressing the importance of Christianity as a force in the historical development of civilization, he asserted in 1907 that this religion embodied the only solution to the social problems of modern society.[69] His abandonment of the opportunity for a career in the ministry did not, therefore, represent a transformation in the strength or substance of Tory's religious beliefs. It was rather a conscious choice to pursue an alternate path than that of the church towards the spiritual salvation of mankind.

Education was the avenue which Tory endorsed as a means of pursuing human progress. Based on his evolving attitude towards philosophy, science and religion, and his practical experiences as an instructor and administrators, Tory developed a comprehensive model of higher education which he believed would greatly promote the development of humanity. By 1906, he had reached the condlusion that he would contribute more to the fulfillment of Christianity, and earn greater personal satisfaction, by striving to advance his educational views than by forging a career within the Methodist church. On this basis, he committed himself wholeheartedly throughout the remainder of his life to the foundation and operation of universities and scientific research institutions.[70]

In his outlook regarding the ideal aims and structure of higher eudcation, Tory reflected his philosophical view of idealism and empiricism as not only compatible, but essentially linked, in the struggle for human progress. In the contemporary debate regarding the merits of the idealistic and empirical approaches to education, he adopted a synthetic position; while contending, in an idealistic manner, that the ultimate purpose of education was to discover absolute truths regarding man and his environment, he subscribed to empirical as well as idealistic trends of thought regarding the curriculum and societal role of universities.

In response to the late nineteenth and early twentieth century controversy as to the relative priorities of scientific, humanistic and vocational courses in a university, Tory treated all three areas of study as legitimate and vital functions of the university. As to the question of the extent to which a university should participate in the affairs of society, Tory postulated a view of higher education in which service to society and a controlling voice in society's development were defined as identical and equal responsibilities of the university.

Tory's strong adherence to idealism as a philosophy of education and society in general was evident from his comments regarding the purpose of education and life as a whole. He proclaimed in the fall of 1908 that idealism as a philosophy was alive in North American society; materialism, he stated, was dead.[71] The primary function of education, he stated on another occasion, was to enhance the moral and spiritual power of society, not to promote economic well-being.[72] Knowledge, he asserted, should be directed to the understanding of life's problems on a higher scale than that of daily life.[73]

The result of knowledge, he contended, was progress.[74]

Tory's view as to the role of education in society conformed to the idealistic belief of society as an hierarchical organic entity in which different classes cooperated to achieve a common goal. In Tory's opinion, an important function of education was to make men follow their necessary occupations and to inspire feelings of unity among various parts of the population.[75] While convinced that education was valuable to all citizens,in society,[76] Tory did not suggest that all people should receive the same level or type of education.[77] Society had a particular responsibility, in his view, to "nurture the specially gifted students".[78] The university, he believed, was the apex of an educational system designed to "elevate the many without excluding the few".[79] "The university", he said, "functioning as the place of higher training, makes possible our modern high schools and these in turn relate themselves to our elementary schools and without the university at the top, the whole system would be inefficient".[80]

While the basis of his view of higher education was an idealistic concept of education and society as a whole, Tory differed from those educators who perceived the attainment of moral and spiritual power independently of material progress. He believed rather that moral and spiritual power were inextricably linked to material progress.[81] Thus, although economic well-being was not the central aim of education, it was, according to Tory, "happily an inevitable by-product of the search for moral progress.[82]

Tory's efforts to harmonize the aims of spiritual and material development in higher education were further apparent in his attitude towards the role of the university in society. In an empirical sense, he advocated university responsiveness to the needs and demands of a democratic society. He spoke favorably of the origins of the university in the "demands on the part of the people themselves for intellectual recognition".[83] He further stated that the university "must be conducted in such a way as to relate ... as closely as possible to the life of the people".[84] The final goal of the university, he stated, should be "the uplifting of the whole people"[85] and the advancement of democratic civilization.[86]

Tory's definition of democracy and the role of the university as a servant of its community were qualified, however, by his idealistic perception of society as an hierarchical entity, based on education. "We are democratic", he stated, and "we want to make our own judgments".[87] But, he added, knowledge and education should be the basis of judgment in a democracy.[88] As the guardian and proponent of knowledge, the university was destined, in Tory's view, to assume a leading role in the decision-making processes employed in a democratic society.

In his concept of the university as a leader in society's development, Tory mirrored the views of well-known American idealist educator, Abraham Flexner. According to Flexner, the university should not act as a weathervane, that is, by changing its policies in accordance with the direction of public opinion. Rather, he believed, it should serve as an effective formative force in society's development.[89] Echoing Flexner's views regarding the role of the university, Tory stated that the university should exert "its latent spiritual and moral power" over the minds and hearts of people, and instill "ideals of refinement" throughout society at large.[90] The university, he continued, should train scholars to "see for the people, feel for them, hear for them and head them into those paths of life which make for stability and permanence".[91]

Even in training public servants, Tory believed, the university was obliged to imprint its own lofty ideals on the public sector rather than merely to respond to the concerns of elected politicians. The university, he asserted, should replace the spirit of partisanship in public policy with an attitude of "intellectual and moral discipline", and dedication to the advancement of "the public interest, irrespective of party and indifferent to the attainment of official stations".[92]

To accomplish its aim of leadership in the material and spiritual development of society, the university, Tory felt, should be involved in the advancement as well as preservation of all fields of knowledge. Tory endorsed former Harvard president Eliot's view that the important functions of the university included the conservation of knowledge, teaching and scientific research.[93] A careful balance should be struck, however, he believed, in the extent to which each of these functions was carried out.[94]

In the tradition of nineteenth century idealist educators, Tory believed that a university should cultivate society's leaders. The true test of a university's excellence, he maintained, was the kind of men such an institution turned out.[95] Oxford, Cambridge and Harvard were considered proper models of university organization because they tended, in Tory's view, to graduate effective leaders.[96]

While in agreement with traditional idealist educators as to the existence of absolute truths and the duty of the university to discover and expound these truths, Tory did not, however, subscribe to the early and mid-nineteenth century view that such truths should be sought in the wisdom of the past. Rather, he adhered to the empirical belief that, through reason and science, scholars should seek to expand the horizons of human knowledge. The modern university, he stated, "must be equipped scientifically to be a worthwhile institution".[97] In this respect, he adhered to the belief of University of Chicago president Harper that, while absolute, divine truths exist, there is nothing wrong with uninhibited research.[98] In the mould of such educators as Harper, Eliot and Dawson, Tory saw the research function of the university, not as supplementary, but rather as an integral part of its teaching function. The performance of experimental work, he believed, was a vital factor in the cultivation of good teachers.[99] Only after having undertaken critical scholarship oneself, Tory believed, was an individual qualified to assume the task of shaping the intellectual outlook of students.

Concerning the balance between teaching and research in early twentieth century universities, Tory suggested that scientific research was substantially undervalued compared to humanistic studies.[109] He was to seek, throughout his own career as university president, to expand the involvement of universities in research and thus redress this alleged imbalance.

Regarding the role of the professions in the university, Tory was to side, to a great degree, with those pragmatic educators who advocated extensive and wide-ranging university participation in professional education. In the mode of modern empirical thought, Tory advocated the integration of specialized and general education throughout the educational system. "We are engaged in the modern world", he stated, "in reconciling an ancient conflict between special and general education .... We have come to see that general and special education are in reality one and the same thing, are component parts of one whole ..."[101] It was on this basis that Tory was to advocate the union of academic and vocational work in the university.

In advocating university involvement in vocational education, Tory opposed the view of such twentieth century idealist educators as Abraham Flexner. While, as earlier noted, Tory agreed with Flexner on such points as the need for the university to lead public opinion, he disagreed with Flexner's refusal to include vocations other than the tradional areas of medicine and law as legitimate fields of university teaching.[102]

In some ways, however, Tory's approach to professional education was more akin to the idealistic than the empirical concept of a university's function. As will be seen, Tory considered the idealistic traits of general, theoretical training and the cultivation of mental discipline to be essential components of all professional programs at the university.

The only type of university structure which Tory perceived as capable of accomplishing his educational goals was a non-denominational, centralized and integrated institution. Like the majority of late nineteenth and early twentieth educators, he endorsed secular control of higher education as a means of avoiding financial problems and bitter inter-institutional rivalry, and of equipping and staffing modern scientific departments.[103] "In these days", he stated, "universities have become so complex, so widely embracing, that naturally state universities had come into existence".[104] "The denominational university", he claimed, "has had its day".[105]

In advocating the centralization of all components of a university, Tory remarked that, "centralization should be the watchword of higher education; it costs the country less in the end and is a thousand times more efficient".[106] Under Tory's direction, the University of Alberta was to attempt to "exert its influence over the whole province" and "to make it not only the coping stone of the school system but the coordinating power for all the higher interests of education".[107]

In the same way that a missionary would seek to found a church and gospel as he understood it, Tory aspired, in a religious sense, to implement his educational beliefs in a concrete setting. To this end, he took advantage of the opportunity to influence the educational policy of the new Alberta government as early as 1906. Rutherford's eventual offer of the position of university president was perceived as, "as clear a call from God as the call to become a Minister of the Methodist church had been in his youth".[108] Tory himself described the work of founding an educational institution as a form of "missionary endeavor".[109] He may have been referring to his role in establishing the University of Alberta when he stated that, "the educational ideals that have moved men to create constructive organizations have originated in the minds of a few individuals who have "felt impelled to do something for mankind" and have "given creative expression to that desire".[110]

For a number of reasons, Alberta was seen as particularly fertile ground by Tory for the realization of his scheme of higher education. The lack of previous institutional development in this region was interpreted as a positive sign that there would be no obstacles in the form of established educational structures to impede the inception of his ideals. Tory concluded favorably from his early visits to Alberta that a new provincial, secular university in Alberta would not be confronted with the vestiges of denominational rivalry and resistance to state educational development which had hampered the growth of secular, state universities elsewhere.[111] He was equally pleased that Albertans seemed determined to remain free of denominational control in future.[112]

Tory was further impressed by what he sensed as a mood of optimism, amenability to change and future orientation which characterized the population of western Canada in general. The "feelings of excitement and expectancy" which Tory perceived among westerners suggested that these people would tend to accept and support efforts to establish innovative educational policies and structures.[113] The presidential appointee was especially enthused by what he mistakenly interpreted, on the basis of Premier Rutherford's comments, as strong support among Albertans in 1906 for the immediate development of a state university.[114]

Tory saw himself as ideally suited to the task of directing the foundation of a university in Alberta. At McGill, he had proven his abilities in the administrative as well as teaching fields; the job of university president was attractive to him in the sense that it would allow him to express these other talents.[115] Speaking in retrospect of his impression of the presidential offer of 1907, he stated that, "I was almost obscessed (sic) with the idea that the West, with its growing population would give me the opportunity to make use of every bit of ability I possessed".[116]

Tory also relished the task of institution building in the west from the standpoint of personal interest and adventure. "I loved teaching", he said, "but knew there was other creative work I could do if the opportunity came".[117] Tory's personal suitability for the position of university president in the social and economic environment of Alberta was also recognized by others. According to G.P. Low, head of the Geological Survey of Canada, Tory had a reputation as "not the ordinary 'frock coat type of professor', but rather the type of a western rustler".[118]

Given Tory's strong religious commitment to higher education and the apparent conduciveness of the Alberta political, social and educational environment to the implementation of his ideals, it is not surprising that he decided to abandon a financially secure, and thus far intellectually rewarding, career at McGill to accept Rutherford's offer of the University of Alberta presidency. Even the promise of an expanded role in administration failed to convince him to remain at McGill.[120] After submitting his formal resignation to McGill University at the end of 1907, he embarked enthusiastically on his venture to shape the University of Alberta in accordance with his philosophical synthesis of idealism and empiricism, and with his educational principles of integration, centralization and non-denominationalism.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1. The Gateway, 10 December 1927.

2. Ibid.

3. In a radio address to a Young Men's Canadian Club gathering in 1936, Tory spoke of ways in which Canada could be of service to the British empire, 7 April 1936, Tory papers, MG 30, Vol. 26, PAC, Ottawa, Ontario.

4. Edward A. Corbett, Henry Marshall Tory: Beloved Canadian (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1954), p. 19.

5. Ibid.

6. James Robbins Kidd, "A Study of the Influence of Dr. H.M. Tory on educational policy in Canada" (M.A. dissertation, McGill University, 1944), p. 29.

7. The Gateway, 10 December 1927.

8. Corbett, Beloved Canadian, p. 17.

9. Ibid., p. 20.

10. Ibid., p. 30.

11. Ibid.

12. The Gateway, 10 December 1927.

13. Ibid.

14. H.M. Tory, "Autobiography: Historical Background-McGill", Tory papers, MG 30, Vol. 29, PAC, Ottawa, Ontario.

15. As evidence of his subsequent view of politicians, Tory commented during the mid-1920's that, "I would like to see any committee of politicians pure and simple who have accomplished anything", H.M. Tory, Personal files and lectures, Tory papers, f. 1304, (1925), UAA, Edmonton, Alberta; And, later, in a letter to A.O. Dawson, a C.P.R. official, he stated that, because a particular issue was "in the hands of politicians, ... I am afraid it is asking almost too much to expect the thing to be dealt with rationally", Tory to Dawson, 19 February 1936, Tory papers, MG 30, Vol. 18, PAC, Ottawa, Ontario.

16. Kidd, "H.M. Tory", p. 28.

17. E.A. Corbett, Beloved Canadian, p. 26.

18. J.R. Kidd, "H.M. Tory", p. 30.

19. E.A. Corbett, Beloved Canadian, p. 30.

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid.

22. H.M. Tory, "Autobiography".

23. E.A. Corbett, Beloved Canadian, p. 31.

24. H.M. Tory, "Going West", p. 2.

25. E.A. Corbett, Beloved Canadian, p. 30.

26. J.R. Kidd, "H.M. Tory", p. 41.

27. Hugh Maclennan, ed., McGill: The Story of a University (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1960), p. 60

28. Ibid., p. 70.

29. J.R. Kidd, "H.M. Tory", p. 44.

30. W.H. Alexander, "Professor J. Clark Murray", University Magazine 17 (December, 1918): 563.

31. The Gateway, 10 December 1927.

32. J.R. Kidd, "H.M. Tory", p. 30.

33. Ibid., p. 32.

34. Barry McKillop, A Disciplined Intelligence: Critical Inquiry and Canadian Thought in the Victorian Era (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979), p. 181.

35. Alexander, "J.C. Murray", p. 563.

36. Ibid.

37. According to Murray, "It is altogether impossible to analyze so complex a phenomenon as any one act of sense-perception into its constituent elements so as to extricate the purely mental without ascertaining the nervous processes by which they have been conditioned and the determination of many still unsolved problems regarding sensation is to be sought as much from physiology as from psychology", excerpt from J.C. Murray, "Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy", Vol. III,

quoted in McKillop, Disciplined Intelligence, p. 178.

38. The Gateway, 10 December 1927.

39. H.M. Tory, "Early Speeches and Speech Notes", n.d., Tory papers, MG 30, Vol. 25, PAC, Ottawa, Ontario.

40. For instance, Tory conducted Bible classes in a large Methodist church during his student years, J.R. Kidd, "H.M. Tory", p. 32.

41. E.A. Corbett, Beloved Canadian, p. 60.

42. Charles H. Hopkins, The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism, 1865-1915 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), p. 320.

43. J.R. Kidd, "H.M. Tory", p. 32.

44. Howard E. Cross, One Hundred Years of Service with Youth: The Story of the Montreal Y.M.C.A. 1851-1951 (Montreal: Southam Press, 1951), p. 147.

45. Ibid.

46. Ibid., p. 216.

47. E.A. Corbett, Beloved Canadian, p. 41.

48. Ibid.

49. Ibid.

50. H.M. Tory, "Autobiography".

51. J.R. Kidd, "H.M. Tory", p. 34.

52. E.A. Corbett, Beloved Canadian, pp. 44-5.

53. J.R. Kidd, "H.M. Tory", p. 162.

54. Ibid.

55. E.A. Corbett, Beloved Canadian, p. 46.

56. According to Alexander Johnson, professor of mathematics and dean of arts during Tory's teaching days at McGill, "Tory has great administrative ability and insight into the requirements of a student body", quoted in Kidd, "H.M. Tory", p. 35.

57. J.R. Kidd, "H.M. Tory", p. 35.

58. H.M. Tory, "McGill Graduate School".

59. E.A. Corbett, Beloved Canadian, p. 56.

60. Ibid.

61. Ibid.

62. G.P. Low, Deputy Head and Director of the Geological Survey of Canada to A.C. Rutherford, 2 November 1906, Rutherford papers, RG 2/3/6/8, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

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65. H.M. Tory, "Speech to Graduates' Dinner", 1907, Tory papers, MG 30, Vol. 25, PAC, Ottawa, Ontario.

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71. The Edmonton Journal, 14 October 1908.

72. H.M. Tory, "The Valuation of Education", speech to the National Council of Education, n.d., Tory papers, MG 30, Vol. 27, PAC, Ottawa, Ontario.

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77. J.R. Kidd, "H.M. Tory", p. 155.

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92. Ibid.

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CANADIAN THESES 56939 THESES CANADIENNES	AUTHOR/AUTEUR AYTENFISU, M. THE UNIVERSITY OF...	I S B N 0-315-09022-7

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113. E.A. Corbett, Beloved Canadian, p. 59.

114. H.M. Tory, "Going West", p. 16.

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CHAPTER 3

Foundations for Presidential Dominance:
The Tory Administration, Introduction and Phase I

a) Introduction to the Tory years.

The development of the University of Alberta during Tory's presidency may be divided into three phases, based on the university's progress towards the structure and role envisioned by its president. Crucial, and related, factors governing the growth of the university during each of these three phases were, firstly, the specific policies instituted by Tory and, secondly, the reaction of the public, government, university administration and faculty to the president's aims and activities.

In its first period of growth, from its foundation until the outbreak of World War I, the university assumed the basic framework of a centralized, integrated and non-denominational university, as intended by Tory. In accordance with the president's plans, the university established, firstly, an arts and science faculty and, subsequently, a number of professional schools and an active extension department. As desired by Tory, the university treated both teaching and research as essential activities. In conformity with his educational philosophy, efforts were made to instill both the values of Christian idealism and a belief in the efficacy of science among students in all faculties and, through the vehicle of the department of extension, among Albertans at large.

To ensure the exclusive authority of the University of Alberta over higher education in the province, university officials played a determined role from 1908 to 1914 in discouraging the development of a second provincial university and of independent professional schools in Alberta. Especially important to its future was the ability of the university during its initial years of operation to secure strong public endorsement for its continued operation. The reservations expressed by a large segment of Albertans at the time of the formation of the university regarding the validity of such an institution disappeared, for the most part, by the beginning of World War I. While opposition continued to arise concerning the merits and viability of specific academic programs, and while efforts continued to be made to create new and independent higher educational institutions, there was no question by 1914 that the University of Alberta would survive and ultimately expand from its existing base.

The second phase of the university's development under Tory's leadership encompassed the war years, from 1914 to 1918, and the overlapping period of Tory's absence from the university, from 1918 to mid-1919. Expansion along lines begun previously was strictly curtailed during the war years due to limitations upon financial resources and personnel at the university. The role adopted by university in response to the war conformed, however, to Tory's aim of involving the university in the material and spiritual growth of its surrounding community. Having taken a firm stance in favor of the war effort, the university sought to strengthen financial and moral support for the military cause throughout Alberta. In addition to efforts to persuade Albertans outside the university community to contribute to the war effort, the university's commitment extended to the point of allocating its own resources to the military cause.

The latter period of the war and the immediate post-war years were distinguished by Tory's absence from the University of Alberta to assume the leadership of the newly formed Khaki University. The most notable feature of the university during this period was the continued tendency of its administrative authorities, even during Tory's absence, to uphold his ideals and principles when determining university policy.

The third stage in the growth of the University of Alberta under Tory's presidency extended from his return from the Khaki University in 1919 until his resignation as head of the university in July, 1928. During this period, progress was made towards the expansion and consolidation of programs initiated in earlier years. As in the pre-war period, obstacles were encountered to the president's objectives of centralization and integration of university programs. However, as in earlier years, these barriers to Tory's goals were, in most instances, overcome.

An important trend in the development of the University of Alberta during the post-war decade was an increased commitment to scientific research, particularly research designed to solve existing economic problems in Alberta. This policy was a reflection of Tory's pre-war convictions, further reinforced by his wartime experiences, that science held the key to human progress. The university's devotion to research was manifested chiefly in the formation of a scientific and industrial research agency, sponsored by the provincial government but operated, and in effect controlled, by Tory and a nucleus of university science professors.

Like his other university policies, Tory's emphasis upon scientific research was linked to his concept of idealism. The value of a scientific research agency lay, in the president's view, not merely in its ability to enhance the material welfare of mankind, but in its capacity, through the material improvement of society, to promote the spiritual development of humanity. The president's efforts to promote scientific research were not balanced, however, during the 1920's by comparable efforts to propagate his idealistic philosophical beliefs. The potential thus grew, as the years passed, for the application of the university's achievements in scientific research to purely empirical and materialistic, as opposed to idealistic, ends.

b) Tory's influence in university administration, 1908-1914.

To facilitate the implementation of his educational philosophy at the University of Alberta, Tory sought an early and complete position of dominance over all aspects of development at the university. He attempted to play a determining role in the decision-making processes of the university Senate, and, following its creation in 1910, the Board of Governors. Simultaneously, he endeavored to direct provincial government policy regarding higher education in general, and the University of Alberta in particular.

His efforts in these regards did not go unchallenged. His plans were resisted on number of occasions by officials of the university administration and government. However, in general, Tory succeeded, from the outset of his term as university president, in acquiring a commanding voice in decisions regarding higher education in Alberta.

In the case of the Senate, the chief obstacles to Tory's authority lay in what the president saw as the "exceedingly mixed tradition" of this body.[1] Composed of representatives of differing professional, geographical and educational backgrounds, the Senate was free of dominance by one educational perspective. At first glance, this may have seemed to be a positive trait, in that it mitigated against excessive pressure to adhere to one particular viewpoint on university policy. However, the diversity of backgrounds of the senators presented a problem, in Tory's view, in the sense that each senator tended to advance his own educational ideals. Unfortunately, according to the president, what the senators did share was a common suspicion that he would try to mould the University of Alberta directly on the pattern of his alma mater, McGill University.[2] This tendency, Tory stated, represented "the worst form of heterodoxy ... and made the work of securing consent to (issues) with which members of the Senate were not familiar an exceedingly ticklish one".[3]

As a long-term strategy for obtaining the cooperation of the Senate, Tory adopted the early and effective tactic of deliberately cultivating the support of influential individuals within this body. Among the first group of Senators, Tory was fortunate in acquiring the respect and assistance of eminent Calgary lawyer, P.J. Nolan. On a number of occasions, Nolan heloped Tory to secure support for his plans within the Senate as a whole. While, on some issues, Nolan doubted the wisdom of the president's proposals, if he saw that Tory was absolutely convinced of the validity of his policies, he tended to vote as recommended by the president.[4] "(Nolan's) influence was such", Tory stated, "that in many cases... a statement from him was decisive" in swaying the entire Senate in Tory's favor.[5]

Evidence of Tory's success in influencing the decision of the Senate is found in the minutes of Senate meetings. The president assumed an active role in virtually every discussion or debate, and served on every Senate committee in the early years of the university.[6]

The extent of Tory's overall influence on university policy appears to have been seriously questioned within the Senate on only one occasion in the pre-World War I period. Senator George Kennedy resigned in 1909 after complaining that the Senate had no real power or recognition in the affairs of the university.[7] It may be inferred from Kennedy's statements that he perceived the management of the university to be unfairly and excessively dominated by the university president. Significantly, no other Senator supported Kennedy's claims in this regard. In fact, the response of the Senate to Kennedy's resignation was to censure the latter for his repeated absence from Senate meetings,[8] and to compose a letter stating what they saw as the true "facts" regarding his criticisms of the Senate.[9]

The Board of Governors, created in 1911 to deal with the financial affairs of the university, was similar to the early Senate in its composition and attitude towards Tory. Like the Senate, the Board of Governors comprised individuals from various geographical regions and educational backgrounds. As in the Senate, Tory encountered pressure from within the Board of Governors to model the University of Alberta along the lines of the alma maters of individual board members.[10] In the case of the university's architecture, for instance, one board member who had graduated from the University of Toronto opposed Tory's plan, "frankly on the ground that (it) did not agree with what had taken place in the University of Toronto and the main building did not look like the main building of Toronto's university".[11]

Especially troublesome to Tory in his relations with the Board of Governors was the tendency of the board, at least in its early stages of development, to mirror the effects of exogenous political controversies in its own activities. For instance, the province-wide conflict leading to the change in government leadership in 1910 was reflected in the polarization of board members on university issues.[12] For instance, from Tory's assessment of the building question, be gathered that those Board of Governors representatives who opposed

Rutherford's continued premiership also objected strenuously to the building scheme suggested by Tory. Tory implied that the basis for criticism of his building plans did not lie in the nature of the plans, but rather in the fact that he had openly supported Rutherford's leadership of the Liberal party.[13]

As in the case of the Senate, however, Tory managed to secure a strong, effective voice in Board of Governors discussions and decisions. He responded forcefully, and in most instances successfully, to criticism of his ideals and suggestions. In the matter of the university building scheme, for example, Tory combined reason and emotion in efforts to combat the initial widespread condemnation of his plans among board members. Dissatisfied with Chancellor Stuart's attempts to defend his building scheme, Tory plunged headlong into the debate himself.[14] After chastising the board members for not having approached the building issue in a rational manner, Tory proceeded to defend his architectural plans. "(B)eing a little heated at the moment", he explained ("perhaps using stronger language than was necessary") why his plan was not, as suggested, "a damn bad plan" but rather "a damn good plan", worthy of submission "to any group of architects in Canada".[15] The result of Tory's intervention in this debate was the referral of the building plans at his suggestion, to a firm of architects.[16]

In a further indication of his dominant role in the Board of Governor's affairs, Tory consulted with the architects in their evaluation of his plans.[17] Whether on the basis of the plan itself, or of Tory's success in persuading them to support his views, the architects formally approved the president's plans. In an ultimate tribute to Tory's handling of the entire matter, the scheme, as resubmitted to the Board of Governors, was readily adopted.[18]

In relations with the provincial government as well as with the university administrative bodies, Tory remained acutely sensitive to the benefits of developing a cooperative and sympathetic allies. Using similar tactics to those employed in attaining support from the university governing bodies, Tory sought to influence provincial educational policy in accordance with his own scheme of university development.

Throughout A.C. Rutherford's premiership, relations between the university and provincial government proved harmonious and particularly agreeable to Tory's philosophy of education. After having initially bestowed generous powers upon the president, the Rutherford administration maintained a policy of noninterference in the internal affairs of the university. In addition to permitting Tory the freedom to shape the university, Rutherford encouraged the president's participation in provincial educational policy outside the sphere of the university. To this end, for example, he appointed Tory chairman of a committee to review and recommend changes to the provincial high school curriculum in 1908.[19] Alterations to the curriculum were eventually instituted, in conformity with this committee's suggestions.[20]

In another illustration of the lack of political restrictiveness upon the operations of the university under Rutherford, the premier permitted Tory to exceed the university's spending authority in 1910. Without the required authorization of the legislature, Tory was allowed to spend $60,000 towards construction of university facilities.[21] It was apparently Rutherford's intention to secure approval for this move from the legislators during the upcoming legislative session. Unpredictably, however, that legislative session adjourned and Rutherford resigned as premier before Tory's expenditure could be sanctioned. An awkward situation was thus created in which the president was obliged to seek the support of a new political administration for his past actions.[22]

In addition to his support and encouragement of Tory's strong leadership role at the University of Alberta, Rutherford assisted in the growth of that institution as a permanent, centralized body by resisting efforts to relocate it, or to build a second university in the province. Not all his colleagues remained as adamantly opposed as the premier to the concept of the removal of the university from Strathcona or to the erection of a new institution. William Cushing, for instance, continued after, as before, the actual foundation of the university to promote the notion of a Calgary university. In a bitter electoral contest in 1909, in which a major issue in Calgary was the question of the permanent location of the university, Cushing sided with those seeking the transfer of the University of Alberta to Calgary.[23] However, as long as Rutherford remained premier, no significant headway was made by individuals or groups towards the removal of the university from Edmonton or the construction of a second university.

Tory was keenly aware of the extent to which governmental support for his university policies rested, not only on the continued government by the Liberal party, but on the retention of Rutherford as a strong and popular premier. He openly expressed his fears regarding the question of the university site that, "the breakdown of the Rutherford government might upset all the plans we had made for the development of the university as the university question between the north and south was always in the background".[24]

When, during the course of 1910, a chain of events unrelated to higher education gravely menaced Rutherford's political future, Tory exploited his abilities and influence to try to prevent the premier's demise, and thus avoid disrupting what had been thus far an ideal relationship between the government and university. The source of the premier's difficulties was the eruption of a financial scandal involving negotiations between his government and private contractors to construct the Alberta and Great Waterways Railway. By March, 1910, it was apparent that, due to his handling of this issue, Rutherford's position as Liberal leader was in serious jeopardy.[25] Of particular importance to the university in this political controversy was the possibility that, should Rutherford resign, his place would be taken by Cushing. An influential opponent of Rutherford, and, as earlier mentioned, an advocate of a Calgary university, Cushing was apparently willing, even ambitious, to assume the mantle of premier.[26]

Deeply concerned for the future of his educational plans in Alberta, Tory unhesitatingly entered the political fray on Rutherford's behalf, at least within the Liberal party. Summoning his powers of argument and persuasion, Tory sought to convince Liberal members of the provincial legislature to rally around Rutherford and to dissuade Cushing from opposing Rutherford's leadership. After a particularly volatile legislative debate regarding the Alberta and Great Waterways railway issue, Tory accepted an invitation from Liberal member of the provincial legislature and university senator, John McDougall, to defend Rutherford's record to a number of disenchanted Liberal caucus members.[27] Tory's aim was to "find some modus operandi by which the matter could be straightened out and the government continue in office".[28]

In spite of Tory's efforts, the criticism of Rutherford continued, to the point that the premier chose to resign. In the face of Rutherford's political misfortune, Tory was obliged to adopt a new strategy in his struggle to surround the university with sympathetic politicians. He helped to convince the provincial Lieutenant-Governor in 1910 to appoint A.L. Sifton, rather than Cushing, as the man to succeed Rutherford as premier.[29]

While Sifton may have been a preferable choice to Cushing as premier, at least from Tory's perspective, the new provincial leader proved much less enthusiastic towards the university president's ideals and ambitions than had Rutherford. Neither Sifton, nor J.R. Boyle, Sifton's appointee to the post of education minister, were to display as much devotion to higher education, and particularly to Tory's concept of higher education, as had Rutherford. On such questions as university financing and location, the Sifton government's policies resulted in greater difficulties and delays in implementing Tory's ideals than might have been anticipated under a continued Rutherford administration.

Although the new government did not refuse altogether to finance university development, Tory and his administrative colleagues faced substantial problems, firstly in obtaining sufficient funds to carry on university operations, and secondly in convincing the government to disburse additional funds required for expansion projects. By October, 1910, the financial plight of the university had worsened to the stage where no funds were available to pay professors' salaries.[30] In Tory's view, this situation was intolerable, from the standpointsof the university's ability to fulfill contractual agreements with professors and to attract high calibre scholars in future.[31] The president thus appealed to the government for immediate financial assistance to tide the university over until the next meeting of the provincial legislature.[32] Sifton's response to this request dismayed Tory; the premier showed a lack of commitment to immediate aid and a vagueness as to future government plans regarding university funding. Sifton gave Tory "no notion of what his attitude was to be in future".[33]

Once the initial difficulties in convincing Sifton's government to release badly needed funds were solved, however, the financial state of the university did improve somewhat. "(O)nce the government got settled down on a firm basis", according to Tory, funds to begin construction of permanent residences and an arts building were approved.[34] The last of these buildings was completed by the fall of 1915.

Throughout the remainder of the Sifton administration, however, Tory engaged in an ongoing campaign to secure funds to finance additional equipment and salaries for expanded programs at the university. Evidence as to his efforts in this regard is derived from his correspondence with Minister of Education, J.R. Boyle. A letter from the university president to the minister in April, 1914, for instance, argued in favor of larger salaries for the university faculty, to enable the appointment of first class scholars to that institution.[36] Other letters, containing statistics concerning the expenditures of other universities, were apparently intended to justify equivalent levels of spending by the University of Alberta.[37]

Regarding the question of the permanent location of the university, Tory concluded pessimistically that Premier Sifton intended to overturn Rutherford's previous policy of resisting efforts to move the university to Calgary.[38] Such speculation on Tory's part placed a strain on the premier-president relationship which had not existed under Rutherford's administration.

In reality, Sifton's government, contrary to Tory's fears, took no initiatives towards removing the University of Alberta from Strathcona. However, the new premier's lack of resistance to the concept of a southern university did inspire the revival of the campaign for such an institution. Sensing a greater opportunity to realize their ambitions under the new provincial leader than his predecessor, the pro-Calgary university interests launched a movement of unprecedented strength and determination in 1910 to secure governmental approval of a degree granting institution for Calgary.[39] Especially disturbing to Tory were the concerted efforts at this time, not only to relocate the University of Alberta to Calgary, but to erect a second such institution in the southern city. The latter proposal constituted an overt threat to his goal of a single, centralized university for the province.[40]

The Sifton government ultimately rejected the notion of a second degree granting institution for the province, thus vindicating Tory's policy of centralization. However, from 1911 to 1914, the status of the University of Alberta in relation to a proposed second university was in constant limbo; on occasion, the prospect of victory for the Calgary interests seemed imminent under Sifton's administration. During that period, Tory experienced frequent apprehension and frustration, as he struggled to convince the government to reject all claims to relocation of the existing university, or to the establishment of a second, competing institution.

One crisis occurred with the response of the Sifton government to a bill proposed by Conservative leader R.B. Bennett in 1911. This bill asked that degree conferring powers be granted to the existing Calgary College, thus rendering that institution a private, non-denominational university. Debate of the bill was lengthy and heated, and resulted, in Tory's view, in an "exceedingly critical situation"; until the final minutes before voting, speculation was rampant that the bill would pass.[41] The House appeared at that time to have split down the middle regarding the validity of the second university.

Particularly disturbing to Tory was the stand of Minister of Education Boyle on the issue of a second university. While citing his preference, under existing circumstances, for the issuance of all degrees in Alberta through the existing provincial university, Boyle stated that, if he found the City of Calgary to be "suffering hardship" as a consequence of its lack of higher educational facilities, he would vote in favor of a Calgary university.[42] Boyle's attitude attested to the persistence of the view of universities primarily as financially lucrative forms of urban infrastructure.

The possibility that the Speaker of the provincial parliament would be obliged to cast the deciding vote was also disconcerting to Tory, who believed that the Speaker would side with advocates of a Calgary university.[43] Only an eleventh hour decision by two Liberal members of the provincial parliament to refrain from voting, due to conflicting loyalties between the University of Alberta and the views of their colleagues, prevented the anticipated tie vote.[44] The result was a slim two vote majority for the anti-Calgary university forces.[45] While Premier Sifton voted against the proposal for a Calgary university, education minister Boyle supported the Calgary university bill, apparently having been convinced by Calgarians of the necessity of such an institution.[46]

Tory's concerns that the Sifton administration would sanction the development of a second university did not end with the failure of the 1911 legislation to make Calgary College a university. In the face of continued efforts by Calgarians to provide university level courses at the Calgary College and to convince the government to reverse its 1911 decision regarding university status, Tory felt compelled to sway the premier and education minister away from the notion of the second university. In correspondence with Boyle, he warned that the creation of a Calgary university would result in a deterioration of educational standards in the province and in an unnecessary financial drain to society as a whole.[47] He predicted, too, that a new university would inevitably be forced to rely on government assistance for its survival, no matter how capable of financial independence it first appeared to be.[48]

Tory further denounced, not only the principle of a second university, but the existing standards of education at the Calgary institution. He suggested to the education minister that the Calgary university sponsors, "have not been carrying on a serious educational institute, neither have the men in their employ been serious educationalists".[49] Critical of the qualifications of instructors at the southern university, Tory bluntly informed Boyle that, "if we were to accept work done to date by that institution, we would be justly classified as belonging to the cheap American collegiate group".[50]

In this instance, Tory's arguments appear to have made a positive impact on Boyle. The minister refused to support a second attempt in the provincial legislature to gain university status for the Calgary College.[51] In so doing, he reiterated Tory's concern regarding the probability of eventual appeals for government funds to support a second university.[52]

Not only Boyle, but the government as a whole, appeared much less likely to endorse the renewed effort to secure a southern Alberta university. Prior to deciding this issue, it referred the entire question to an independent commission for report and recommendation. The commission, comprising presidents Walter Murray, of the University of Saskatchewan, Robert Falconer, of the University of Toronto, and Arthur Mackenzie, of Dalhousie University, reported in favor of one unified provincial university, in accordance with Tory's ideal.[53] The commissioners proposed that the existing University of Calgary facilities be converted into an institute of technology and art, to be jointly financed and controlled by the province and city of Calgary. This institute, they stated, should be affiliated with the University of Alberta.[54]

Controversy as to the status of Calgary College did not completely end as a consequence of the report of the Calgary Commission. A number of Calgarians strenuously opposed the commissioners' conclusions.[55] Efforts to establish a Calgary university persisted even after the provincial government took measures to turn the Calgary College into a technical school, along lines proposed by the commission. However, subsequent threats to the concept of a single provincial university were not to match those of the period 1908 to 1915 in their extent and intensity.

While on such questions as general funding and the proposed establishment of a second provincial university, the period of the Sifton administration posed more difficulties for Tory than had been encountered under Rutherford's leadership, on matters of academic policy, such as the hiring of professors and development of curricula, the Sifton government tended not to intervene in the affairs of the university. Tory himself came increasingly to view the Sifton government as beneficial to the implementation of his university development scheme. Following the election of 1913, Tory commented on his relief at the outcome - a large Liberal majority under Sifton's leadership. "I feel now", he said, "that I have five good years before me and during that time most of the educational problems of the province will be fixed along lines that will be difficult to change".[56]

The impact of Tory's dominance over the policies of the university administrative bodies and provincial government was clearly evident in the emerging administrative structure, curriculum and societal role of that institution during the period 1908 to 1914. For instance, with the endorsement of the provincial government and university Senate, a revised University of Alberta Act, drafted by Tory, was implemented. Similarly, with the authorization of the university administration and government, Tory undertook to mould the university curriculum and faculty in accordance with his philosophical beliefs.

c) Revisions to the University of Alberta Act

Tory took early advantage of the opportunity granted by Premier Rutherford to revamp the University of Alberta Act. Throughout the winter of 1908-1909, he worked closely with provincial Deputy Attorney-General Sydney Wood to draft an amended university act.[57] His intention was to frame an act embodying his own objectives concerning the university's aims and structure. Drawing on the experience of other universities in establishing governing principles and procedures, Tory was especially attentive to the provisions of the University of Toronto Act. This latter piece of legislation was passed in 1906, following the recommendations of an exhaustive commission on university government.[58]

Tory sought to incorporate those elements of other university legislation which conformed to his own educational ideals into the University of Alberta Act. In some cases, however, he felt other legislative documents to be inadequate to meet the distinctive educational needs of Alberta society. In those instances, he attempted to design new legislative clauses, tailored to meet the unique requirements of the Alberta university.[59]

In accordance with the predominant trend in university legislation in North America, Tory urged the creation of a Board of Governors and the reallocation of administrative duties between this body and the existing Senate.[60] The Board of Governors was to assume control of the financial operations of the university, while the

Senate was intended henceforth solely to direct the academic policy of the university. Tory further recommended the enlargement and alteration of the Senate to include a number of ex-officio members of the academic community, such as the university president, deans of all the faculties and directors of all affiliated educational institutions and organizations.[61] This latter provision was perceived by Tory as a vital means of redressing the "multiplicity of tradition" which, in his view, had impeded the previous work of the senate.[62] The concept of ex-officio appointments was further calculated to ensure that professional associations in the province gained representation on the senate.[63] This provision was part of Tory's larger scheme, to be discussed later, to make the University of Alberta the chief authority over professional education throughout Alberta.

In the matter of presidential appointments, Tory proposed that the head of the university be chosen, as he had been, by the government, not by the Board of Governors, as was the case in some jurisdictions. According to Robert Newton, a colleague of Tory's and later president of the University of Alberta himself, the basis of the president's views in this regard was his desire to be "master in his own house".[64] Tory apparently felt that he would have greater independence in academic affairs if appointed by the government than by the Board of Governors.

Tory's approach to university financing, as spelled out in his suggested University of Alberta Act, represented a further attempt to mould the permanent framework of the university to suit his personal convictions. By encouraging the dependence of the university, not just on steady, automatically renewable sources of public funding, but on an annual legislative appropriation, Tory deliberately strengthened the accountability of the university to the government and public.[65] Only by satisfying public and government expectations could the university hope to acquire desired amounts of financial assistance from the public purse.[66]

A major aim of Tory's proposed University of Alberta Act concerned the role of the university in professional education in Alberta. Through the University of Alberta Act, Tory laid the foundations for ultimate university control of educational standards in all professions in the province. In a clause unique to university legislation at that time in Canada, the president recommended expanding the purview of university operations to include the establishment and enforcement of professional qualifications in the province.[67] Through the means of a Board of Coordination, comprising representatives from the university Senate and the members of professional associations, the university was to define the educational standards and conduct examinations controlling entrance into professions in Alberta.[68]

Tory's view of the university as the agency most capable of governing professional standards in Alberta was rooted, not only in his conception of the university as the natural leader in society, but in his familiarity with the prevailing systems of professional examination in British Columbia and Alberta. In both these provinces, he had witnessed practices, particularly in the recruitment of medical doctors, which he considered detrimental to the welfare of the public.[69] According to the existing structure of professional bodies in those two provinces, boards of medical examiners were appointed by the provincial governments from within the medical profession. During his stay in British Columbia from 1905 to 1907, Tory heard frequent accusations that the Board of Medical Examiners had come to be dominated by McGill University graduates.[70] The invincible loyalty of these McGill men to their alma mater had culminated, according to Tory, in a situation where "a McGill graduate found it much easier to pass for practice in the province than ... the graduates of other universities".[71]

Upon his arrival in Alberta, the University of Alberta president discovered an equally strongly entrenched system of patronage, but one in which the University of Toronto, rather than McGill, alumni held sway over the process of professional certification in the province.[72] In proposing a university controlled Board of Governors to take over the duties of evaluating and licensing professionals, Tory hoped to remove "from politics the question of authorizing men to practise professions in the province".[73]

In addition to his criticism of professionally controlled examination bodies, Tory condemned the Alberta practice of permitting individuals who failed professional examinations to appeal to the legislature for reversal of the board's decision. Aside from his belief that the so-called professional examination boards were failing to function in a responsible and fair manner, Tory seriously questioned the competence of elected politicians to rule competently on decisions involving professional certification. In a reflection of his generally unfavorable opinion of politicians as decision-makers in society, Tory proposed the creation of the Board of Coordination as a means of "removing from politicians the questions of authorizing men to practise professions in the province".[74]

The professional examination provisions of the suggested University of Alberta Act were not drafted in such a way as to impose immediate obligatory control of examinations by the university.[75] In a tactical move, apparently designed as much to protect the university from charges of dictatorial control as to develop links with professional associations, Tory suggested that the university Senate negotiate mutually acceptable agreements on an individual basis with professional bodies in Alberta.[76] By encouraging input from professional organization members in the establishment of educational qualifications for their professions, the university improved the prospects of acceptance of, and compliance with, its educational and examination criteria in the province.

Tory's proposal for a university controlled Board of Coordination to conduct professional examinations in the province was greeted favorably by Department of Education officials, many members of the public, and the majority of members of the provincial legislature.[77]

The topic of professional standards had been an occasional topic of public discussion and controversy in Alberta during the early years of provincehood. Concern had been expressed regarding the validity of the existing system, where examinations were controlled by small, supposedly elitist professional bodies. Not surprisingly, given the widespread emphasis upon egalitarianism and democracy in Alberta society, doubts were commonly expressed in the public press, "as to the justice of a state of affairs which allowed professional organizations to fix standards for themselves independently of public control".[78]

Politicians, reiterating the views of their constituents, suggested that measures should be taken to "avoid the possibility of what we regard as a close corporation" in the establishment and enforcement of professional standards.[79] In agreeing to the concept of university control of examinations, Tory felt, government representatives were revealing their recognition and endorsement of the university as a useful adviser to the government on issues of public concern.[80]

The revised University of Alberta Act, embodying Tory's suggestions, was enacted on December 16, 1910 by the provincial government. While the act passed smoothly, Tory's notion of a university controlled Board of Coordination was not completely unopposed among members of the government, professions or public at large. A number of practising professionals, particularly in the field of medicine, believed that university authority over professional educational standards was tantamount to unjust interference in an area beyond its rightful jurisdiction. In the wake of the passage of the revised university act, these doctors condemned the university for "meddling with matters which were professional".[81]

Tory responded to criticism of his suggestions in typical fashion, that is, by attempting to convert his opponents to his own beliefs. In his efforts to persuade hesitant legislators and doctors to support his scheme of professional examinations, he benefitted from his timely discovery and exposure of a fraudulent medical practitioner. The so-called doctor had sought authorization in 1910 to practise medicine in Alberta by legislative enactment rather than through the regular channels of professional examinations.[83] He enjoyed the support of provincial Attnorney-General, C.W. Cross, for his efforts in this regard.

In a clever tactical ploy, Tory enlisted the help of education minister Boyle, who was currently "at loggerheads" with the Attorney-General to convince the government as a whole to reject the supposed doctor's application for practice.[84] With the assistance of Boyle, Tory was able to prove beyond any reasonable doubt, that the doctor in question possessed a phoney medical diploma, from a non-existent medical school.[85] By successfully demonstrating the illegal and potentially dangerous actions of the pretending doctor, Tory greatly strengthened his case for more critical, thorough evaluation of candidates for professional certification than was available through the government.

Tory began as soon as possible following the implementation of the new University of Alberta Act to negotiate affiliation agreements with provincial professional bodies. It was his initial aim to conclude arrangements for university control of examinations in all professional fields in the province by the end of 1912.[86] Although he failed to meet this deadline, by the end of 1914, university authority had been established over educational standards in medicine, dentistry, pharmacy, chartered accountancy and surveying in the province.[87]

Few problems arose after 1911 in convincing provincial bodies to affiliate with the university. Doctors who had initially protested the establishment of professional examination boards under university control tended by 1914 to favor the new scheme. Some objections were raised by dentists to the affiliation arrangements signed with the university. However, Tory dismissed these complaints as the sentiments of professionals who were "a little less intelligent" than their counterparts in other fields.[88]

For the most part, professional organizations appear to have viewed affiliation with the university as beneficial to their own interests, both in maintaining uniform, fair standards of education and conduct, and and in strengthening their credibility in the eyes of the public. Provincial pharmacists, for example, requested the university to take over the task of establishing professional standards and setting examinations in their field in 1913.[89] And, even within the Alberta Dental Association, the majority of members had come come to support the principle of university involvement in professional education by 1913. The association as a whole appealed to the university to prevent the passage of a bill in the provincial legislature designed to allow two men to qualify as dentists without having first satisfied the requirements for valid professional licenses.[90] On behalf of the association, the secretary-treasurer wrote Tory to "draw your attention to those cases in hopes that the university will take an active part in the defence of the public, and the graduates who spend so much time and money in securing a licence in the regular way".[91]

d) Early academic appointments.

In the same way that he had taken advantage of the opportunity to reshape the University Act, Tory seized the opportunity granted by the provincial government and university senate to control the selection of professors at the University of Alberta. In line with his belief in the duty of the university to inculcate sound moral and spiritual values in students, he chose only those individuals whose moral and religious outlook he approved. In accordance with his view of the university as an agent in the advancement, as well as preservation, of knowledge, the president favored professorial candidates who seemed well qualified and motivated as both teachers and researchers. And, in conformity with his emphasis upon the accountability of the university to society as a whole, Tory sought professors who displayed the ability and desire to enhance the university's public image.

In an address to the Canadian Education Association in 1913, Tory openly discussed the criteria which he felt most useful in evaluating applicants for professorial posts. The following questions, he asserted, should be asked regarding the qualifications of prospective academic staff members: "Is he a master in his own field of knowledge? Has he the character and capability suitable to the responsibilities which he must assume? Is he in a position to properly represent the public which holds the university responsible for his activities".[92]

Tory's preoccupation with the moral character of University of Alberta professors was revealed in the nature of his comments regarding applicants for teaching positions at the university. One individual impressed him as, "a choice man intellectually and morally", while another was regarded as "bright" and "religious".[93]

In appraising the moral virtues of professorial candidates, Tory was also keenly attentive to the cultural and national backgrounds of individuals. He was particularly averse, for instance, to hiring Americans. The same professor whom Tory had praised for his brilliance and religiosity was handicapped, in the president's view, by his American citizenship, and particularly, his "peculiarly American" mannerisms.[94]

Tory's objections on principle to the appointment of Americans appear to have been rooted in his deep respect for the virtues of

Anglo-Saxon civilization. To the extent that American culture had diverged from traditional Anglo-Saxon values, Tory was unfavorable to the prospect of allowing an individual steeped in such a cultural milieu to influence the intellectual growth of Alberta's university students.

His rejection of Americans as professorial candidates was conditional, however. Tory did not classify all Americans as equally unsuited to academic positions in Alberta. Individuals raised in areas such as the eastern seaboard states, where the sway of British cultural and intellectual traditions was stronger than elsewhere, proved acceptable to Tory as potential University of Alberta professors. In fact, among the first four professors hired by Tory was E.K. Broadus, an American citizen raised in Virginia. By virtue of his upbringing in the "south", Tory implied, Broadus was a suitable candidate for a university lecturer.[95]

In his efforts to secure professors who would be willing to participate in the evolution of a new, as yet unproven university, Tory heeded the pragmatic advice of former John Hopkins University president, Howard Remsen.[96] Remsen had warned that difficulties would be experienced in persuading scholars securely established in older, prestigious universities to uproot themselves to join new, and thus far unrated, academic institutions.[97] Following Remsen's suggestion to concentrate on young men of academic promise as opposed to older scholars with established reputations, the University of Alberta president sought out youthful academics who, "if not great at the moment had possiblity of becoming great in the future".[98]

Youthfulness was a particularly advantageous attribute for professors, in Tory's view, due to the exigencies of coping with Alberta's environment and to the rigorous level of activity which Tory expected each professor to assume in building the University of Alberta. According to the university president, "my winter's experience in the west had taught me that what was required was vigorous young men who could stand the pressure of intensive work in a new climate".[99] In interviews with aspiring professors, Tory made clear the strenuous nature of the job which would confront them as pioneers in the development of the University of Alberta. Having outlined the frontier conditions which characterized Alberta society in 1908, Tory apparently wanted to encourage only those individuals who shared his tireless sense of challenge and adventure in building a new educational institution in a frontier setting.

The advantages of hiring youthful professors may also have extended, in Tory's opinion, beyond their capacity to adjust to Alberta's physical environment. In focussing upon young, as opposed to more mature, scholars, Tory lessened the chances of resistance to his own plans for academic and administrative affairs at the University of Alberta. Having had neither the time nor experience to develop an affinity towards one particular type of system of university administration, a younger professor would conceivably have been more likely than an older scholar to accept and adapt to the methods of university government which Tory intended to implement in Alberta.

As a further step towards shaping the character of the University of Alberta, Tory sought to create a complement of academic staff which was "as representative as possible of outstanding institutions in the country".[100] His actions in this regard suggested a desire to facilitate the emergence of a new academic ideal at the University of Alberta, based on a synthesis of what he saw as the finest elements of academic traditions elsewhere. By choosing professors from a diversity of intellectual backgrounds and experience, Tory was also anxious to prevent the development of the university on the exact model of any one existing university. His attitude in this regard was apparent in his decision to turn down the requests of a number of his McGill colleagues in 1908 to join him in his university building venture in the west. While citing as one reason for his rejection of the McGill professors' applications, the difficulties which they would face in adjusting to Alberta's climate, Tory also spoke freely of his desire, "to break new ground entirely".[101] He was evidently determined to eliminate the possiblity of pressure to turn the University of Alberta into a replica of McGill University.

The results of Tory's calculated employment strategy at the University of Alberta were apparent in the characteristics of the original teaching staff at that institution. As Tory intended, the initial four professors were relatively young men who showed signs of successful future academic careers. W.H. Alexander, forty years of age at the time of his appointment, was a graduate, first of the University of Toronto, and later of a California university. He was described by Tory as having had a "splendid record as a student in Honours Classics".[102] He was teaching at the University of Western Ontario when Tory recruited him to join the University of Alberta. L.H. Alexander, a "distinguished young graduate of Toronto" was just completing his doctorate in philosophy at Columbia University in New York when hired by Tory.[103] Muir Edwards, thirty nine years of age in 1908, was a graduate of McGill University and a lecturer at that university.[104] E.K. Broadus was, as mentioned above, a native of Virginia, in the United States of America. Rorty two years of age when appointed to the University of Alberta, he had earned degrees previously from the Universities of Virginia and Harvard; he was depicted by Tory as "a man of brilliant promise".[105]

Of the first professors chosen by Tory, only L.H. Alexander did not serve a lengthy term of employment with the University of Alberta. Alexander returned to Columbia University after only one year because, as Tory said, "(h)e cannot stand the life of the country".[106] Evidently, in this instance, Tory's judgment as to the adaptability of professors to the Alberta environment had been faulty. Muir Edwards continued to lecture at the university until his death in 1918, while E.K. Broadus and W.H. Alexander remained at the university even after Tory's own retirmment from that institution.

As Tory had hoped, these first professors proved to be popular lecturers, dedicated to the moral and intellectual development of their students.[107] They participated willingly in early university extension programs, frequently accepting speaking engagements throughout the province in additon to their intramural teaching duties.[108]

In addition to his general emphasis on such traits as youth, intellectual achievement and morality among professors, Tory's hiring policies were particularly noteworthy with regard to his approach to appointments in professional fields and the department of extension. In accordance with his belief in the importance of harmony between theory and practice, and with his commitment to good relations with the public, the president revealed a preference for individuals who had combined practical and theoretical experience in their previous careers and who appeared capable of presenting a positive image of the university to the general public. As the first secretary of the department of extension, for instance, Tory chose A.E. Ottewell, a lumberjack and farmer turned classics scholar, and a person who demonstrated a strong, favorable rapport with rural Albertans.[109] And, as head of the mining engineering department, Tory chose Norman Pitcher, a McGill graduate and, at the time of his appointment to the university, general manager of a coal company, North American Collieries Company.[110]

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

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CHAPTER 4

The Emerging Academic Structure:
Developments in Curriculum, 1908-1914

a) Arts and Science

In the early development of the University of Alberta curriculum, President Tory enjoyed a sense of freedom virtually unparallelled among academic administrators elsewhere in Canada. As he confessed later, "I think this is the only time in the history of Canada that the university curriculum was drawn up by the president of a university without the criticism of the staff".[1] Not surprisingly, in light of his desire for complete dominance over university affairs, Tory took full advantage of the opportunity to shape the university's academic structure.

The president's early plans for development of the curriculum, as revealed to the University of Alberta Senate in 1909, called for the initial creation of a strong arts and science faculty. This faculty was to be devoted to teaching and research in each of the fields of humanities, applied sciences and education.[2] As soon as possible after this first faculty could be firmly established, it was Tory's intention to institute programs in agriculture, medicine, law and extension.[3] While he did not mention other areas of study at this time, Tory's later policies bore witness to his aspirations to involve the university in such professional fields of study as pharmacy and commerce as well. The timing of university initiatives in these latter areas was to be determined by the degree of public need and the extent of the university's ability to undertake instruction in these fields.

The progress of the university curriculum towards Tory's goals was largely affected by such factors as the state of provincial government funding and the attitude of the public towards university involvement in particular aspects of higher learning. Faced with spending limitations imposed by the Rutherford and Sifton governments, and intellectual constraints created by the public mood regarding higher education, Tory's approach to his goals in university curriculum was both aggressive and determined, pragmatic and well-calculated.

To as great an extent as possible, Tory made the university an instigator, rather than a follower, of public opinion when establishing its academic structure. Where prevailing public sentiment ran counter to his own ideals regarding curriculum priorities and content, the president took into account the possible ramifications of opposition to his intended course of action. In some instances, he chose to defy contemporary trends in public thought, on the premise that his proposals were of such great benefit to the community that the public could eventually be persuaded to adopt his point of view regarding their validity. In a number of decisions, however, Tory submitted to public pressure, by modifying or delaying his plans in accordance with the dominant opinion in the province.

In his belief that the first university faculty should be that of arts and science, Tory was instransigent, despite substantial public criticism of such a move. The president perceived arts and science courses as basic to all intellectual effort, and thus as the logical first priority in the development of a university curriculum.[4] He could not conceive the establishment of a professional faculty, such as medicine, law or agriculture prior to the inception of an arts and science faculty, because, as will be seen, he felt that professional education programs should be based on a firm groundwork of arts and science courses.

Tory's belief that the arts and science faculty should constitute the first goal of the university was "considerably criticized" by many Albertans.[5] A common notion among provincial residents seemed to be that, if a university was to be established at all during the early years of provincehood, its preliminary focus should be such practical pursuits as agriculture. In contrast to Tory's view, it was contended that professional education did not require background training in the disciplines of arts and sciences.[6] In the legislative debate concerning the passage of the initial university bill, two of the Liberal speakers, Boyle and Moore, had tried to make an agricultural college the primary focus of higher education in Alberta. Regarding the relative value of arts and professional education in Alberta, a letter to the Edmonton Bulletin stated that agriculture, medicine, law, pharmacy and dentistry were all of greater value to Albertans than arts.[7] "I fail to see", the writer argued, "what an Arts course does for a man even in the professions, much less in agriculture, except tickle his vanity".[8]

Opponents of Tory's emphasis on arts and science, and particularly those who favored agricultural instruction as the chief priority of higher education in Alberta, could point to the University of Saskatchewan as a model for their claims. In Saskatchewan, the establishment of an agricultural education program had taken precedence over all other aspects of the provincial university's early development. As an initial indication of its commitment to agricultural education, the University of Saskatchewan Board of Governors had chosen as president, Walter C. Murray. Murray's statement that the "College of Agriculture must be regarded as the sheet anchor" of the university epitomized his support for the popular belief in the necessity of agricultural instruction.[9] Under Murray's direction, the University of Saskatchewan proceeded immediately upon its inception in 1908 to found a school of agriculture.[10]

Despite public opposition to his belief in the primacy of an arts and science faculty, Tory persisted with his own plans in this regard. Having stated in March, 1908, that the agricultural faculty would be developed when there was a demand for it, Tory apparently did not perceive, or admit to, the strength of public support for an agriculture faculty prior to the opening of the university. It seems that the popular demand for agricultural training would be fulfilled only when Tory decided that such action was warranted.

Having previously advised Premier Rutherford to establish the University of Alberta along the model of conventional North American universities, Tory urged the university senate at its first meeting in March, 1908, to establish arts and science as the first faculty. Initially, he proposed, courses should be offered leading to the degrees of bachelor of arts and bachelor of science in arts.[12]

The Senate, as well as the public at large, showed signs of reluctance to accept Tory's preference for arts and science, as opposed to agriculture, as the first priority of the university.[13] However, Premier Rutherford defended the president's views to the remainder of the Senate on several grounds. Pointing out that the number of potential agriculture students in Alberta had not been found sufficient to warrant the formation of an agricultural faculty, the premier further asserted that the provincial agricultural department was adequately equipped to deal with contemporary requirements for agricultural education in the province.[14] In response to further questions within the Senate, the premier announced that his government had no plans to commence an agricultural college for a further two or three years.[15] The senators, swayed by these arguments, voted to adopt Tory's suggested course of curriculum development.[16]

In his approach to the content and structure of the proposed arts and science faculty, Tory aimed for a synthesis of idealistic and empirical currents of thought. He spoke initially of the need to adopt "academic tradition" as a guide to the development of the university's first faculty.[17] His interpretation of "academic tradition" requires some explanation since, in the wake of the nineteenth century revolution in academic thought, it is difficult to discern just what ideas and practices were regarded as traditional. By "academic tradition", Tory appears to have referred to the idealistic belief, most common in the early and mid-nineteenth century, that the university was obligated to imbue a strong sense of moral and mental discipline in its students. His views in this regard were apparent both from his general statements, noted earlier, regarding the moral and spiritual functions of a university and in his aim as has also been noted, to appoint professors capable of imparting sound moral and religious values to students.

In his efforts to achieve the traditional early nineteenth century aims of an arts and science faculty, however, Tory did not propose to employ the traditional curriculum, in which philosophy and classics remained dominant. Rather, in accordance with a pragmatic trend initiated by such late nineteenth century educators as Harvard president Eliot, he supported the pragmatic adaptation of the traditional, idealistic curriculum to suit modern social and economic circumstances.

Eliot, in an 1884 address entitled, "What is a Liberal Education", had asserted that the traditional purpose of liberal studies, that is, to promote the intellectual and moral development of students, was still valid and worthy of preservation. At the same time, however, he argued that the mid-nineteenth century American college curriculum was "antiquated" as a means of fulfilling these goals.[18] On the premise that the "best intellectual and moral materials of the day should be made into liberal education", he proposed that the traditional circle of liberal arts be widened to include English, French, German, history, political economy and natural science.[19]

Like Eliot, Tory attempted to encompass a wider spectrum of subjects and to encourage a greater emphasis upon rational, scientific enquiry than had been the custom in the humanistic universities of the early nineteenth century. The initial University of Alberta curriculum, as devised by Tory, comprised elements common to both the idealistic and empirical trends in education. It embodied courses in classics, but also in modern languages. And, even within the realm of classics, Tory encouraged a synthesis of idealistic and empirical traits. While acceding to the empirical trends towards a de-emphasis on Greek as a compulsory arts and science subject, Tory insisted that Latin retain a central position in the University of Alberta's first and second year curricula.[20]

Not surprisingly, in light of previously expressed opposition to the precedence of academic over more practical courses at the university in 1908, Tory experienced popular requests to refrain from treating Latin as a core arts and science subject. The president remained adamant in support of Latin as a mandatory arts and science course, however. After consulting with University of Saskatchewan president Murray regarding this issue, Tory concluded that, "it would not be wise to begin our work by breaking the tradition for the Bachelor of Arts degree".[21]

Also included in the first University of Alberta curriculum were philosophy, history and mathematics. Tory's attitude towards philosophy provides further evidence of his aim to combine idealistic and empirical educational trends in the curriculum. Like nineteenth century idealist educators, he sought to establish philosophy as one of the chief initial courses of the arts and science faculty. However, in the mould of later administrators, once having encountered difficulties in finding a philosophy professor, Tory was content to postpone that appointment. In fact, in 1908, he considered applying the funds originally earmarked for a philosophy professor towards the appointment of a history or political science professor; he was prepared, in his own words, to let philosophy "go by the boards".[22] This latter course of action was not typical of the humanistic colleges and universities of the previous century. Rather, it conformed more closely to the growing empirical trend towards a diminished stress on philosophy as a core subject in the arts and science faculty.

In seeking a philosophy professor, Tory settled for no less than an individual who shared his synthetic view of idealism and empiricism. After a lengthy search, Tory chose John Maceachran, a former student of both the distinguished late nineteenth century idealist, John Watson, and the renowned German idealist philosopher and pioneer in scientific and cultural psychology, Wilhelm Wundt.[23] As a student of Watson, Maceachran was exposed to a similar outlook on philosophy as that experienced by Tory as a student of J.C. Murray. Watson and Murray were alike in their views regarding the validity of absolute truth and the equal validity of science as means of achieving spiritual perfection.[24]

Under Wundt, Maceachran received instruction even further compatible with Tory's philosophical outlook. Like Tory, Wundt was a committed idealist, opposed to materialism and relativity of values, but not completely resistant to the influence of contemporary positivism and scientific empiricism.[25] In fact, Wundt exploited positivist thinking as a means of challenging metaphysical explanations of mankind and the universe.[26] An advocate of objectivity and rationality as a problem solving technique, he encouraged scientific experiment as a means of discerning philosophical truth.[27]

As a proponent of science, however, Wundt did not approve, but rather vehemently denounced, the currents of hedonism and utilitarianism, favoring instead an emphasis on moral duty as the guide to human action.[28] His efforts to establish a unity among sciences, and his tendency to base his philosophical ideals on a combination of idealistic and positivistic tendencies, were comparable to Tory's attempts to demonstrate links between thought and substance, and to synthesize idealism and science. Wundt's emphasis on moral duty as the end of scientific investigation was similar to Tory's stress on material development, not as the primary goal of mankind, but only as a means to spiritual and moral progress. Maceachran, having been closely associated with the ideals and work of Wundt, was a likely candidate to perpetuate the philosophy of his mentor at the University of Alberta. His appointment to the university's teaching staff in September, 1909, thus further carried Tory's plans for the shaping of that institution to completion.

In the field of science, President Tory devoted particular attention to the establishment of comprehensive research programs within the early arts and science faculty. In accordance with his aim to make the university a practical servant of the community, he focussed heavily on research pertaining to provincial economic development. After having organized a biology department in 1912, Tory announced that, "research work will be begun as soon as possible in connection with some of the problems now pressing upon the farming community, especially in relation to diseases of grain and vegetables".[29] Concerning the newly formed geology department, the president stated in 1912 that research in this department would "be closely related to practical ends".[30]

b) Professional education.

Having established the arts and science faculty, Tory turned his attention to the fields of professional education. His approach to the subject of professional education was consistent both with his idealistic philosophy of education and his aims to centralize and integrate all aspects of higher education in Alberta under the control of the University of Alberta.

In a reflection of his idealistic concept of education, in which the ultimate focus of knowledge was moral and spiritual progress, Tory advocated the training of professionals, not only in technical skills narrowly related to the practice of their vocations, but in theoretical principles and philosophical beliefs concerning the welfare of society as a whole. In conformity with his aim to make the university a central agent in the promotion of the province's social and economic well-being, Tory tried to establish professional training programs in a broad spectrum of vocational fields considered necessary in Alberta. In an illustration of his commitment to the centralization of authority in education, he established faculties of medicine, law and agriculture as well as programs in pharmacy and education before 1914. In all instances, he sought exclusive university control over the education of professionals.

The president's efforts to involve the university in professional education in Alberta met with widespread, but qualified, support from Albertans. Public demand was instrumental in a number of instances in prompting the establishment of professional courses. However, as for the degree to which the university should participate in professional education, there was less popular agreement. The president's policies of exerting sole university authority over professional education and of seeking incorporation of professional schools into the general academic framework of the university were greeted with approval from some sectors of the public, but with strong criticism from others. Much of Tory's time and energy during the period 1908 to 1914 were spent in trying to defend his principles of centralization and integration against the arguments and actions of his opponents.

As in other facets of university development, a common tactic employed by Tory to promote his concept of professional education was to cultivate the support of particularly influential individuals or groups. He sought, for example, to establish close, harmonious relations between the university and a number of professional associations in the province.

Initial measures towards the establishment of professional training programs at the University of Alberta were taken by Tory in the late summer and fall of 1908. Apparently spurred by public pressure for the commencement of agricultural training in Alberta, the university president exchanged views with President Murray of the University of Saskatchewan concerning the merits of various forms of agricultural education. He also studied agricultural programs in the United States, concentrating especially on that of the University of Wisconsin.[31]

Throughout 1908, Tory shied away from immediate moves towards creating a university agricultural program, preferring first to evaluate the progress of the University of Saskatchewan's initiatives.[32] However, by early the next year, he had begun to develop a definite scheme for agricultural instruction in Alberta. At its meeting in June, 1909, the university Senate endorsed this scheme; it authorized the establishment of an agricultural faculty at the university as soon as possible.[33]

In conjunction with his plans for agricultural education, Tory proposed, and the Senate and provincial government agreed, that a number of decentralized, vocational agricultural high schools be established in Alberta.[34] These schools, the president suggested, should be administered and conducted by the university and should prepare students for the university's agricultural faculty.[35]

Aside from the field of agriculture, the Senate expressed its commitment in 1909 to the commencement of professional training in the realms of applied science, medicine and law. As early as June, 1909, the Senate approved the formation of a civil and municipal engineering department within the university.[36] The following year, a decision was made to organize a mining engineering department no later than October, 1913.[37] While the actual formation of this department was delayed due to the events of World War I, the university did succeed in opening other departments of applied science, including electrical engineering and drawing and descriptive geometry, by 1914.

In education, efforts were underway by Tory in 1911 to establish university control over teacher preparation at the high school level in Alberta.[38] Three years later, in 1914, the university administration responded favorably to public requests for the creation of programs in pharmacy and commerce.

Tory's support for university involvement in a wide variety of vocational fields was in keeping with the predominant trend in professional education in early twentieth century North America. Until the late nineteenth century, the majority of universities across the continent had tended to restrict their roles in vocational training to law, medicine and divinity.[39] And, even in those fields of study, the majority of training programs were conducted outside the university.[41]

However, increasingly from 1870 to 1920, university curricula were enlarged to include such subjects as agriculture, journalism, pharmacy, engineering, commerce and education. Pharmacy remained an uncertain ground for university involvement on the basis that professionals in that field could not agree as to the desirable standards of achievement in that field.[41] Fields such as education and music meanwhile remained "in a muddle" with regard to the question of university involvement.[42]

According to Tory's philosophy of education, professional training entailed, not only the acquisition of practical technical expertise in a given field, but the development of a particular mental and moral outlook. This outlook was based on a theoretical understanding of that profession's past development and present and future objectives. Speaking of medicine, for instance, Tory stated that, "the proper practice of medicine and surgery demands qualities mental, moral and emotional of the very highest order".[43] Only the modern secular university, he believed, could provide the intellectual atmosphere and specific courses necessary to cultivate both technical expertise and a sound philosophical perspective.[44]

Tory sought to link professional schools closely to the faculty of arts and science. Arts and science subjects, he felt, were inherently valuable as preparation for all aspects of life, and should thus be studied by aspiring professionals.[45] Moreover, they were to be studied "as such and not in their professional bearing".[46] Students were permitted, and in fact encouraged, at the University of

Alberta to undertake combined arts and science, and professional degree programs.[47]

In the case of medicine, Tory particularly advocated that students receive a solid grounding in scientific precepts and principles as a prerequisite to the study of strictly medical courses. The chemist, the physicist and the biologist should be involved in the field of medical instruction, he stated, "along with the anatomist and physiologist, as men of sciences and not merely as medical men".[48] The university was a necessary institution for the training of doctors, Tory asserted, since, "only there are these great sciences taught in their fundamental relations".[49]

Tory particularly stressed the usefulness of the university in instilling a spirit of rational enquiry among medical students. Critical of the esoteric and traditional approach which he felt had characterized medical teaching as late as the nineteenth century, Tory lauded the attitude of such past thinkers as Vesalius, who had defied "ancient authority and religious scruples", and compelled existing traditions and dogma "to stand the test of exact science".[50] The modern university, he stated, "must function in medicine as the home of research".[51]

In the same way that he saw science courses as a vital basis for studies in medicine, Tory viewed liberal arts courses as essential to the training of students in law and education. Prospective law students, for instance, were urged to take two years in the faculty of arts and science prior to enrolling in the university's law school.[52] Regarding the field of education, the president initially attempted to incorporate education courses into the third and fourth years of an arts and science degree program.[53] In law, the university Senate particularly emphasized the importance of history as a fundamental field of study; in education, the value of philosophy was stressed.[54]

In accordance with his belief in the positive influence of a university environment in shaping the character and intellect of professionals, Tory advocated that students entering law without first having earned an academic degree should be denied the opportunity to study law on an extramural basis. "To my mind", he stated, "to offer an LLB degree extramurally to a student who has not had an academic degree is entirely wrong ... It is the tendency in all universities worthwhile is to get away from extramural degrees, especially in professional subjects".[55]

In agriculture, as in medicine and applied science, the basis of theoretical instruction at the university was to be science, with a special emphasis on scientific research.[56] Responsibility for the administration and conduct of the schools as well as the faculty was to be vested in the university.[58]

In advocating the integration of vocational and academic aspects of agricultural training under the centralized control of the university, Tory evidently hoped to appease public demands for practical education, while at the same time enabling the university to conduct advanced theoretical research, unhampered by public opposition. He openly admired the system of agricultural education currently in operation at the universities of Minnesota and Wisconsin.[58] In these institutions, technical and academic aspects of agricultural instruction were both administered by the university. Public approval of the work of the vocational schools tended to be translated into an appreciation of the university's agricultural program as a whole, regardless of whether or not theoretical agricultural studies were by themselves considered acceptable. Because the agricultural schools and colleges worked together in those institutions, Tory stated, "the public have never realized the difference".[59] The result, in his view, was "a splendid attitude of mind on the part of the public".[60]

The professional courses established under Tory's direction met with varying degrees of public and governmental support prior to World War I. In each instance, public opinion favored the creation of university professional programs. However, differences of views emerged as to the proper scope and extent of university control in each field.

Public pressure was instrumental, in a number of instances, in determining the timing of university measures to establish professional schools. Strong public support for the foundation of agricultural training programs in Alberta appears to have been the primary factor affecting Tory's decision to address the issue of agricultural education immediately following the formation of the arts and science faculty, and prior to the creation of other profesiional schools. In the fields of medicine and law, decisions to proceed with the creation of professional schools closely followed the presentation of petitions to the university governing bodies requesting the establishment of courses in these areas. In medicine, twenty-five prospective students united to request the formation of a medical faculty at the university in October, 1912.[61] At the same time, a resolution seeking the foundation of a law faculty was signed by fifty members of a law students society.[62]

In the case of law, prior to the action of the students, Tory's efforts to establish a law program had been frustrated by what the president referred to simply as circumstances beyond his control.[63] Shortly after the receipt of the students' petition, however, Tory succeeded in winning approval from other university administrators and the provincial government for his law school scheme.[64] This phenomenon suggests an influence by the students in prompting the establishment of the law faculty.

In the area of medicine, Tory's plans received the hearty endorsement, not only of the students, but of the university administration. The Senate concluded in 1912 that, "the time is closely approaching when a Medical Faculty should be established in this university".[65]

In both the areas of pharmacy and commerce, Tory proved amenable to the foundation of university courses; however, the impetus for the actual development of these courses appears to have stemmed from the public. In the case of commerce, the university was approached by members of the provincial business community in 1914 regarding the possibility of implementing commercial courses at the university.[66] In the realm of pharmacy, it was the Alberta Pharmacists Association, disturbed by a growing shortage of pharmacists in the province, which actively sought a role by the university in the education of pharmacists.[67] The university administrators' immediate and enthusiastic response to public appeals for university courses in commerce and pharmacy indicated their belief in the legitimacy of university involvement in these fields. In fact, in pharmacy, Tory went so far as to advocate the establishment of a degree program.[68] It remains questionable, however, whether steps would have been undertaken to implement these courses prior to 1914 had not the administration been subject to public pressure for such action.

While the public displayed a generally positive attitude towards the notion of a certain degree of university involvement in professional education, there was a lack of consensus as to the extent of university authority which should prevail in each field. The efforts of a minority of opponents to Tory's scheme of centralized and exclusive university control over professional education threatened and, in one case, actually prevented implementation of the president's objectives for professional schools before 1914.

In the realm of medicine, Tory encountered "rather sharp controversy" regarding the role of the university in education in Alberta before the "fact of university leadership" was finally accepted.[69] Issues of contention between the university and provincial medical societies included the selection of medical students, curriculum design and ways of teaching.[70] Professional antagonism towards university policy was also aroused by Tory's proposal to collaborate with the City of Edmonton in constructing a Union Hospital. This hospital was to be used by the university for clinical teaching purposes.

In the case of establishing a medical faculty capable of offering courses towards the first three years of a medical degree, Tory's views won out over those of the opposition.[71] Regarding the issue of a union hospital, however, the university president was less successful. His idea of a medical faculty, complete with clinical facilities, was, according to his biographer E.A. Corbett, "far ahead of public opinion.[72] In one of the rare instances in which his efforts at diplomacy failed, Tory failed to convince well-known Edmonton writer and influential Union Hospital opponent, Emily Murphy, to reverse her stand on this issue. In fact, by engineering a "blast against me and my plans", in an Edmonton newspaper, Murphy succeeded even in alienating some of Tory's former supporters on this issue.[73]

Tory's summary of the hospital affair reflected both his enduring belief in the efficacy of his plan and his conclusion that those who opposed him did so only out of self-interest. Professional men can not be guaranteed to support a good scheme, he surmised, if it interferes with their clientele.[74]

In his goals regarding teacher education at the University of Alberta, Tory faced resistance from representatives of the provincial Department of Education, which at that time held responsibility for this area of education.[75] In a gesture which foreshadowed subsequent departmental efforts to prevent university control of teacher education in Alberta, deputy education minister D.S. Mackenzie objected to Tory's suggestion in 1911 to establish education courses at the university.[76] Mackenzie maintained that the university should postpone attempts to establish an educational program until such time as it had completed the foundation of courses in non-professional fields of higher education.[77]

The university, evidently hoping to convince department of education officials to moderate their stand on this issue, delegated a committee of representatives from the Senate and arts and science faculty to confer further with provincial department members.[78] No progress was made in this regard prior to the outbreak of World War I, however.

The provincial government further refused to accept university matriculation as sufficient qualification for a teaching certificate, as desired by the university. Tory attempted to persuade department of education officials to alter their position on this issue but by the end of 1914 had still been unable to do so. Only in 1916 was a joint government-university High School and University Matriculation Board established to coordinate evaluation of high school and first year university educational standards.[79]

Among the most concerted, lengthy and successful attempts to impede Tory's plans for professional education at the University of Alberta were those undertaken in the fields of agriculture and law. The controversies over those issues merit detailed examination, due to their complexity and influence upon developing university-public relations in Alberta.

In both instances, the president's aims to develop professional schools as integral parts of the university campus were jeopardized by organized movements dedicated to the establishment of separate, independently operated schools. In both cases, the rationale for promoting separate professional schools went beyond a commitment in principle to the decentralization of higher education. Advocates of separate schools were strongly motivated by the parochial desire to locate such schools specifically in their own cities and towns, and thus potentially boost the economic status of their regions. As in the case of the foundation of the university as a whole, the major sources of opposition to the unification of agriculture and law schools with the University of Alberta lay in Calgary. In fact, among the chief instigators of the anti-centralization forces in professional education were individuals such as R.B. Bennett who, during the same period, played leading roles in efforts to establish an independent University of Calgary.

At the time of Tory's attempts to establish centralized control of agricultural education in Alberta, the issue of the relationship of agricultural schools to universities remained controversial throughout North America. While the predominant trend was towards the amalgamation of agricultural colleges and other university faculties, the opposite policy prevailed in some institutions.[80] In the dispute which emerged between Tory and the opponents of centralization, each side could claim precedents for its views in the policies of selected universities elsewhere in the United States and Canada.

In opting for university authority over agricultural training, Tory aligned himself with the majority of administrators whose opinions he had polled on this question during 1908. A spokesman for Cambridge University in England, for example, advanced the view that the incorporation of agricultural training into the state university would produce a "better class" of graduate than any other system.[81] Agricultural students, he stated, benefitted from contact with students in other fields, as well as from access to the educational resources available on the main university campus.[82]

Even in some jurisdictions where agricultural schools were run independently of the university, support was found for the principle of integration. The University of Colorado, for instance, cited its own difficulties in conducting separate schools as evidence of the negative impact of disunity.[83] The president of the Ontario Agricultural College, another independently run institution, suggested that, whereas in theory agricultural colleges and universities should be conducted separately, in newly developing states and provinces, such a course of action was impracticable if the higher educational institutions in those areas were ever to be strong.[84]

Opponents of centralized agricultural education in Alberta could point to such events as the consolidation of the University of Manitoba and the Manitoba Agricultural College as proof of the problems inherent in integration. Friction and hostility had emerged between these two formerly independent bodies over such issues as the agricultural college's location and standards of admission.[85] So severe did the dispute become that, at the request of the agricultural college's Board of Directors in 1912, affiliation ties between the college and the university were severed.[86]

Among the specific arguments presented in opposition to the unification of agriculture with other faculties was that such a phenomenon would lead to an excessively theoretical perspective among agricultural students and to a detrimental tendency on the part of these students to forsake agricultural lifestyles upon graduation.[87] It was also feared that, in an integrated campus, funds would be channelled primarily to the arts and science faculty, at the expense of the agricultural college.[88]

In Alberta, the announcement of plans to establish an agricultural faculty within the university provoked an almost immediate, and strongly negative, response from opponents of educational centralization. A strong tradition prevailed in favor of a separate agricultural college. This tradition was rooted in the fact that the majority of agricultural graduates in the province were trained at the Ontario Agricultural College. These individuals tended to advocate the establishment of a system of agricultural education modelled on that of the independent Ontario college.[89]

As in the case of the general movement for a University of Calgary, support for a Calgary agricultural college crossed political party lines. Among the strongest supporters of a separate agricultural institution were members of the Calgary Liberal Association. A resolution submitted by this association to the provincial government in August, 1909, requested that an agricultural college be located near Calgary and that it be developed separately and under different management from the University of Alberta.[90]

The message conveyed by the Calgary Liberal Association was strongly reinforced by the work of another influential Calgary interest group, the Calgary Board of Trade.[91] In a resolution designed to obstruct the University of Alberta Senate's agricultural education goals, the Board of Trade reiterated the viewpoint earlier expressed in the Manitoba Free Press that university-linked agricultural colleges were invariably ineffective in serving the public interest.[92] According to the Board of Trade, a centralized agricultural college, as proposed by the Senate, would fail to carry out the experimental and demonstration work demanded by provincial agricultural interests. It would instead, the Board claimed, induce agricultural graduates to seek employment in towns and cities.

For the above reasons, the Board of Trade requested, firstly, that action on the senate's proposed agricultural faculty be delayed until such time as the provincial legislature had voted for such a move. Secondly, it demanded that any agricultural college be operated independently of the University of Alberta. Finally, the resolution asserted that a prospective agricultural college should be located close to suitable facilities for experimental demonstrations.[93] This latter statement constituted a not-too-subtle suggestion that the college be situated in Calgary, one of three towns and cities in Alberta which possessed experimental farm facilities.

The movement to establish a provincial agricultural college in Calgary rather than on the University of Alberta campus gained further impetus from the Calgary Herald.[94] Criticizing Rutherford for his support of Tory's agricultural scheme, the Herald accused the premier of deliberately "grabbing the agricultural college for his own constituency".[95] By attaching the college to the university, the newspaper asserted, the government would be merely "adding one more gem to Strathcona's diadem".[96]

Tory reacted strongly and defensively to condemnation of his agricultural education plans. The struggle to repudiate the arguments of his opponents and thus win public and governmental approval for his own views was lengthy and bitter, however. Not until 1913, four years after initial university efforts to found an agricultural faculty, was Tory's scheme of university controlled agricultural schools and a central university faculty finally approved by the provincial government.

Tory's initial efforts to undermine opposition to his agricultural education policies consisted of a series of public addresses in which he sought to convert even the most skeptical Albertans to his views. With the authorization and encouragement of Premier Rutherford, Tory planned a number of public speaking engagements on the subject of agricultural education throughout the fall and winter of 1909-1910.[97]

The success of this strategy was marred, however, by effective counterattacks from the opposition. One successful tactic adopted by the proponents of an independent agricultural college was to accuse the university president of politicking on behalf of the government, and even of attempting to manipulate government policy in the field of agricultural education.[98] Writing to W.C. Murray in November, 1909, Tory spoke bitterly of calculated efforts in Alberta "to get the new Minister of Agriculture to butt in on my plans".[99] "On account of my efforts to start an Agriculture Faculty", he claimed, "I have become the greatest rascal in Western Canada"; "I'm charged", he continued, "with having the Government of the country under my thumbs, and the new Minister of Agriculture is being called upon to put me in my place".[100]

As a result of these attacks upon his efforts to promote an agricultural faculty, Tory decided that it would be "unwise .... to give any more public addresses on the subject".[101] But, on the basis that promises had been made to speak in other localities he agreed to place the entire matter before the annual convention of the United Farmers of Alberta in February, 1910.[102] Given the widespread and growing influence of the United Farmers of Alberta as a pressure group in Alberta, the outcome of Tory's address to this organization was bound to be decisive in determining the popularity of the university agricultural faculty concept.

After overcoming a notably cool reception from the UFA delegates, Tory triumphed in his efforts to persuade the vast majority of these to support his agricultural educational policies.[103] Skillfully exploiting his debating talents, he deftly outmanoeuvred the verbal attacks of his opponents. A vote taken at the conclusion of his address showed all but seven of the 225 delegates firmly in favor of his views.[104] Such a vote of confidence was of substantial value to Tory and other university administrators in their bid to secure strong public support for their policies.

In addition to his efforts to convince the UFA to endorse his agricultural education scheme, Tory sought to undermine the movement towards a separate agricultural college in other ways. Recognizing that the primary source of antagonism to his plans lay in Calgary, he vowed "to carry the war into the enemy's territory".[105] By trying "to surround Calgary with a group of communities friendly to us", he hoped to limit the appeal and plans for an independent Calgary agricultural college as opposed to a University of Alberta agricultural faculty.[106]

Gradually, as a result of his efforts, Tory's agricultural schools scheme gained support within the provincial government. Following negotiations with Tory, agriculture minister Duncan Marshall adopted measures to implement Tory's suggestions for several agricultural high schools and a single university faculty.[107] Establishment of the agricultural faculty was to be delayed until 1915, when sufficient government funds could be allocated for such a purpose, and sufficient numbers of students had graduated to a level of instruction considered necessary as a prerequisite to university training. In the meantime, however, three vocational agricultural schools were created.[108] Administration of these schools was placed in the hands of a Board of Agricultural Education.[109] As chairman of this board, Tory was able to command an influential role in the management and operation of the schools.

The notion of three, as opposed to one, agricultural school was particularly welcomed by Tory as a method of pre-empting future efforts to create a university level agricultural program distinct from, and independent of, the University of Alberta.[110] Tory believed that, with three schools, the risk of successful efforts to develop these schools as degree granting institutions, separate from the University of Alberta, was less than in the case of one school. This was due, in his view, to the problems inherent in communication and organization among a number of decentralized institutions.[111]

In the field of law, Tory's aspirations for exclusive

University of Alberta control of education were thwarted from 1912 to 1914 by the decision of the Calgary College to offer law courses.[112] Calgary law students were strongly pressured by a number of prominent barristers in their city during this period to attend courses in Calgary, rather than in Edmonton.[113]

The operation of law courses at the Calgary College, beginning in 1913, posed a dual threat to Tory's educational objectives. In addition to destroying the president's plans for a single provincial law school, under the auspices of the university, the conduct of law lectures in Calgary added weight to the argument that a second provincial university, housing faculties such as law, was necessary in Alberta. Especially ominous in the face of the University of Alberta's ongoing efforts to obstruct the Calgary College's bid for degree conferring status was the presence, among the chief proponents of the Calgary law school, of such individuals as R.B. Bennett, a noted proponent of an independent southern Alberta university.[114]

Rivalry and feuding between the Calgary and Edmonton law schools continued unabated throughout 1913 and 1914.[115] The issues of competition and outside control of legal education were only resolved in 1915, with the provincial government's decision to refuse university status to the college. However, while the consequent closure of that institution dampened the hopes for the creation of a flourishing law school in Calgary, at least one major Calgary law firm continued the struggle to create a Calgary law school.[116] Strongly dissatisfied with the University of Alberta's methods of teaching and treatment of examinations, members of this unidentified firm aimed in 1915 to attach a law school to the proposed Calgary Technical College.[117] The latter was a recommended replacement for the defunct Calgary College. There is no evidence however, that concrete measures towards this end were accomplished. The University of Alberta thus emerged, in accordance with Tory's ambitions, as the exclusive provincial law school.

c) Extension department

Through the establishment of a broad spectrum of professional education programs, the University of Alberta succeeded in widening its scope of influence beyond what could have been achieved through its arts and science, and professional faculties. The impact of Tory's educational outlook and aims upon the surrounding community was even further heightened through the establishment of a department of extension.

As in other aspects of the university's development, the impetus to establish, maintain and expand the department of extension stemmed from President Tory.[125] In his concept of the purpose and structure of an extension department, Tory was influenced to a large extent by early twentieth developments throughout Britain and North America; he was particularly strongly impressed by the extension programs offered in the British universities of Cambridge and Oxford, and the American University of Wisconsin.

While working as a researcher at Cambridge University in 1902 and 1903, Tory paid close attention to British extension programs, which were then experiencing a period of rapid growth and expansion.[126] He observed with interest the formation of the British Workers' Educational Association in 1903, and the subsequent efforts of this organization to secure extension courses in a variety of fields.[127] Attending a meeting of the Workers' Educational Association at Oxford University in 1908, Tory was particularly impressed by arguments presented in favor of workers' education.[128] In line with his own belief in the obligation of universities to serve the intellectual needs of society as a whole, a British millwright spoke of the need for Oxford to provide intellectual training, not just for an exclusive wealthy class, but for all British citizens. "We want Oxford to open wide her doors to the best of our people", he asserted, "and to inspire them not with the idea of getting on, but with the idea of service to humanity".[129]

The Workers' Educational Association's efforts to influence British extension programs resulted in 1908 in the preparation of a comprehensive plan of adult education by this organization.[130] Contained in the report were recommendations to the effect that workers should not be limited solely to technical and vocational types of education, but should have the opportunity to take more theoretical courses, such as economics or political science.[131] The aim of the University of Alberta extension department became, like that of the Workers' Educational Association, to provide more than just occasional popular lectures, but rather an organized series of lectures along the lines of the Workers' Educational Association tutorials.[132] In contrast to departments such as that of the University of Saskatchewan, which stressed practical vocational courses, the University of Alberta extension department chose to pursue a broader, more liberal curriculum.[133]

Aside from the work of the British workers' association, Tory was notably influenced in his outlook on extension by the progress of mid-west American universities.[134] Particularly effective as a model for University of Alberta extension programs was to be the University of Wisconsin extension department. Under the presidency of William Van Hise in the early twentieth century, the University of Wisconsin treated the department of extension as "one of the most important branches of educational work" within the university.[135] Van Hise especially praised the extension department as a means of influencing the ideals and abilities of the public on a large scale.[136]

Like the Workers' Educational Association, the University of Wisconsin department of extension aimed to provide, not only just occasional lectures, but rather comprehensive programs of a serious academic character.[137] Among the divisions of the early twentieth century Wisconsin extension department were a lecture division, a bureau of debate and public discussion, a correspondence branch and a general bureau of information and welfare.[138]

The University of Alberta extension department was not officially established until 1912. Tory had wanted to begin such a program prior to this time, but was unable to do so, probably because of simultaneous pressures for development in other fields.[139] Efforts were made, however, from the outset of the university's operations, to provide extension lectures and services wherever possible to Albertans on an informal basis.[140]

During the first year of university operations, regular afternoon extension lectures were conducted by Tory and other staff members.[141] In 1909, the Senate adopted a report suggesting extension lectures as a separate aspect of the university's work.[142] By 1912, the president believed that conditions were ripe for the creation of a viable department of extension under the leadership of a full-time director. A proposal to this effect was endorsed by the Senate in April, 1912.[143] A budget of one thousand dollars was allocated for the first year of the department's operations; this sum was subsequently supplemented by five hundred dollars due to faster than anticipated expansion by the department.

Like University of Wisconsin president Van Hise, Tory saw extension lectures as an effective means of cultivating particular beliefs and knowledge among members of a community. Early extension lectures at the University of Alberta dealt almost exclusively with the value of education to society as a whole and the need for better educational facilities in Alberta.[144] Particular efforts were made to inspire public interest and goodwill towards the University of Alberta.[145]

Following the example of the University of Wisconsin, the University of Alberta extension department, once formally established, instituted programs of lectures and debates.. As well, it organized travelling and open shelf libraries to facilitate exchanges of books throughout the province.

In aim, as well as format, the University of Alberta debating program parallelled that of the University of Wisconsin. At the latter university, the intent of the bureau of public debate and discussion was purportedly to advance a rational perspective on social problems among residents of the state.[146] At the University of Alberta, the goal of the debating program was, in Tory's words, to encourage Albertans to treat political, economic and social issues in an intelligent manner.[147]

Like the University of Wisconsin, and in the tradition of the Workers' Educational Association, the Alberta extension department geared its lectures to matters of an academic nature as well as to specific vocational subjects. The primarily rural, agriculturally oriented audiences of Alberta were treated to addresses, not only on farm related subjects, but on topics in such fields as literature and economics. Even in the field of agriculture, lectures were devoted to the concept of agriculture as a science rather than as simply a technical occupation. Strong emphasis was placed on the communication of results of scientific research relating to agriculture to Alberta farmers.[148]

In a further step imitative of the University of Wisconsin, the University of Alberta extension department initiated a weekly publication entitled the *University of Alberta Press Bulletin*. The University of Wisconsin, during the same period, published a *Press Bulletin for Editorials* intended to publicize the ideals and achievements of that institution. The University of Alberta's *Press Bulletin*, first published in 1913, sought to instill a sense of respect and appreciation for the goals and accomplishments of the university among Albertans in general.

In accordance with the overall trend in its extension programs, the university's *Press Bulletin* provided information both of a technical nature, designed to meet the vocational needs and demands of Albertans, and of a more general nature, intended to satisfy the broader intellectual interests of provincial residents. In the first category were articles containing advice on such matters as grain growing, cattle raising and rural sewage treatment. In the second class were items dealing with topics such as the philosophy of education, the government and the economy.

In a reflection of Tory's belief that the university should not only respond to public requests for knowledge, but assume an active role in moulding popular opinion, the *Press Bulletin* was used to advance a number of ideals which Tory thought essential to the development of a progressive society in Alberta. Among the views which received prominent attention and encouragement in the Bulletin were the value of higher education and the need to integrate all aspects of education in a single, centrally controlled system.[150]

So successful was the Press Bulletin as an instrument of communication regarding the progress of the university that the Board of Governors entertained proposals in 1914, firstly, to expand this publication,[152] and, secondly, to establish a new publication devoted to social, economic and political issues in Alberta.[152] While the university staff appeared interested in the latter suggestion, a decision was made by the Board of Governors following the onset of World War I to postpone indefinitely any further measures in this regard.[153]

d) Affiliation with denominational colleges.

During the same period in which the University of Alberta was establishing its curriculum and role in Alberta society, a number of sectarian organizations were taking measures to strengthen their roles in higher education in the province. Vital to the fulfillment of Tory's vision of centralized, secular education, under the control of the University of Alberta, were the relations which evolved between the university and the emerging denominational educational institutions.

Tory's approach to the issue of affiliation reflected his simultaneous beliefs that these institutions had a valid role to play in higher education in Alberta but that the secular university should predominate in relations with sectarian colleges. He fully intended, when dealing with denominational organizations, to avoid provoking a repetition of the sectarian disputes which had plagued the growth of higher education in other regions in North America during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[154]

However, while adamantly opposed to complete denominational authority over higher education, Tory did not believe that universities should be devoid of input from religious organizations. In fact, he strongly encouraged sectarian groups to assume a role in the spiritual development of university students. In discussions with a representative of the Roman Catholic church, Tory stated that, "I believe the church owes the State the influence for good which it can throw into the life of the State University".[155] He went on to chide denominational organizations which, in the past, had failed to cultivate relations with state universities. The results of the churches' immobility in this regard, he claimed, were that, "(n)early all of the great state universities are without the influence that the church can directly throw around the University while the denominational colleges have either become practically without religious control or else sunk into insignificance".[156] "To my mind", he continued, "the churches have thrown away their opportunity of influencing the brightest intellects of the country, by their shutting themselves off from the great State universities".[157]

Not only the secular universities but the sectarian institutions stood to benefit, in Tory's view, from close contact between students of theology and other fields of learning. In accordance with his idealistic conviction that all human knowledge should withstand the challenge of rational criticism, Tory encouraged contact and intellectual clashes between adherents to opposing views of theology and science as a means to the discovery of ultimate truth. He was especially anxious that theology students be indoctrinated in a critical, scientific outlook in their own field of study. They should not, he asserted, "be deprived of the advantage of scientific study conducted in a modern way".[158] "I do not believe", he added, "that any scheme for cloistering men away from their fellows could possible be effective from the point of view of the church. The University is necessarily the forum where all types of questions are discussed. The place where the young men of the ministry become strong is where they have to face the questions of the hour and answer them in an intelligent way ... I am convinced that if the churches were to concentrate their efforts in the universities in order to secure men for the ministry rather than quartering them in little groups by themselves they would not only have more men, but more effective men and Christian ministers".[159]

While the above terms of affiliation suggested by Tory were of a generous nature in terms of facilitating the growth of sectarian colleges, the University of Alberta president attempted to ensure that control of academic and administrative affairs remained firmly in the hands of secular authorities. No courses were allowed to be taught in competition with the university except with the permission of the university Senate.[160] As at McGill University, and in contrast to such universities as Toronto and Manitoba, the university stipulated initially that, aside from theology, the university rather than denominational colleges would carry out teaching duties.[161] In the case of preparatory schools, affiliation was contingent on the willingness of schools to send their students to the university for final examinations.[162]

Prior to 1914, affiliation agreements were signed between the University of Alberta and four outside colleges. Following negotiations with Methodist Church officials, the university concluded an affiliation arrangement with Alberta College, at that time a preparatory college. The contents of the agreement were made deliberately restrictive in order to protect the authority of the university. Tory feared that, if the college was allowed greater independence in setting standards and offering courses, it might, in the event of a future dispute with the university, try to affiliate with another university.[163] In such an event, the position of the university as the single controlling entity in higher education in Alberta might have been threatened.

In other agreements, the University of Alberta accepted as affiliates before 1912, Robertson College, a Presbyterian theological college, Western Canada College, and Westward Ho, both preparatory colleges. Alberta College and Robertson College were both offered, and accepted, sites on the university campus for the construction of residence and classroom facilities.

The question of affiliation with a Roman Catholic institution surfaced after 1913 at the request of authorities of the newly founded Edmonton Jesuit College; this issue presented more problems, in Tory's view, than did the prospects of links with Protestant institutions thus far. Whereas officials of Alberta College had demonstrated enthusiasm for the concept of secular education outside theology,[164] the leader of the Jesuit College favored the teaching of all courses, including mathematics and science, from a Catholic point of view.[165] The Catholic educational officials considered the university's secular emphasis on mathematics and physics to be inadequate for the majority of students; moral certitude was ranked as more important for most people than mathematical or physical certitude.[166]

The refusal of the Jesuit leaders to moderate their stand regarding the need for a distinctly Catholic perspective in higher education led to difficulties in affiliation negotiations between the university and the college. Nothing conclusive was accomplished in discussions between college and university authorities regarding affiliation either before or during the first world war.

Apparently in the absence of a satisfactory agreement with University of Alberta officials, the Jesuit College sought affiliation with out-of-province universities. By June, 1917, the college had become an affiliate of Laval University, in Quebec.[167] Such an arrangement was clearly contradictory to Tory's plan to encompass all collegiate institutions in Alberta within the sphere of the University of Alberta. However, to the extent that the University had not yielded to the Jesuit College's requests for recognition of a peculiarly Catholic outlook on education, Tory's aim for complete non-denominationalism at the University of Alberta remained intact.

In the early 1920's, what Tory had referred to as the "ever present Catholic problem" was to assume a new dimension.[168] A movement was commenced at that time by the Roman Catholic Basilian Order to establish a post-secondary Catholic arts college and residence in Edmonton.[169] In accordance with his policy of secular, centralized edcuation, Tory deliberately sought to undermine possible efforts to make such a college the core of an independent Catholic university.[170] Under his direction, the university offered a site on campus for an affiliated Catholic college. In addition, the president vowed to help secure the necessary funds to build such a college.[171] To this end, Tory even took it upon himself to approach the Carnegie Corporation personally, on behalf of the Basilian Order, to request financial assistance for the prospective college.[172]

The outcome of negotiations between the University of Alberta and Roman Catholic educational authorities was to be an agreement similar to those reached with Methodist and Presbyterian officials in the pre-war years. The new Catholic college, St. Joseph's College, was granted a permanent site on the university campus. Opened in 1926, this college was also given permission to offer a select number of university level courses, as long as standards for those courses were approved by the university.[173]

With the conclusion of a satisfactory affiliation agreement with St. Joseph's College, the pre-war uncertainty regarding relations between the University of Alberta and the Roman Catholic church in Alberta was to diminish Tory's policy of ultimate secular control over higher education in the province was thus to be affirmed.

e) Summary of the pre-war years.

By the end of the fifth complete year of university operations, the University of Alberta had made substantial progress towards the fulfillment of the president's educational goals. The basic academic structure envisioned by Tory - that is, an arts and science faculty, followed by professional schools and an extension department, all integrated under a single administrative authority - had been achieved. With the defeat thus far of efforts to establish a Calgary university, and with the negotiation of affiliation agreements between the university and denominational institutions, headway was also made towards Tory's aim of centralized university control over all aspects of higher education in Alberta.

Vitally linked to the progress of the University of Alberta was the growing level of government and popular support for Tory's educational plans and policies. Provincial treasurer Charles Mitchell stated publicly in 1913 that the government had come to realize what the University of Alberta intended to accomplish in Alberta, and would henceforth supports its aims and activities.[174] And, from the time of the opening of Athabasca Hall in 1911, according to arts and science dean W.A.R. Kerr, public opinion concerning the university grew increasingly positive.[175] A report to the Senate in 1911 further indicated that the university had earned such a favorable reputation that families were known to have moved to Alberta solely so that their children could attend that institution.[176]

The Edmonton Journal, commenting favorably on the growth of the university as a centralized, cohesive institution, stated proudly in June, 1914, that, "it is probably true to say that no such highly unified system of higher education exists elsewhere in the American continent as has been achieved in the province of Alberta during the past eight years".[177] Expressing particular pleasure regarding the status of professional education under the University of Alberta, the Journal further praised the University of Alberta Act for its "elastic" and "statesmanlike" provisions.[178]

Obstacles to the realization of Tory's educational ambitions had not, by any means, been completely eliminated by 1914. The issue of centralization of higher education was to remain controversial throughout the entire two decades of Tory's presidency.[179] The future expansion of faculties, schools and departments created thus far was to be contingent upon the continued ability of the university to secure provincial funds for these purposes.

But, whereas in 1906, even the prospect of a university had been seriously questioned by a sizeable sector of the public, by 1914, the presence of the university appears to have been taken for granted. There were no further comments such as those of Bennett, who had earlier advocated hurling the entire institution, brick by brick, into the North Saskatchewan River.[180] Criticism was confined more to such issues as academic priorities or the timing of university development than to the subject of whether such an institution should exist at all.

Prospects for future development of the university along the lines instituted by Tory thus seemed bright by 1914. However, the outbreak of World War I in the late summer of that year drastically altered the economic and social environment affecting that institution. The impact of these changes was to be felt throughout the university, not only during, but also following the war. In terms of its progress under Tory's leadership, the commencement of the war marked the end of the first, and the beginning of the second, stage of development of the University of Alberta.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

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14. Ibid.

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17. Ibid.

18. William A. Neilson, ed., Charles W. Eliot: The Man and His Beliefs (New York: Harper and Brothers, Pubs, 1926), p. 68.

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CHAPTER 5

The War Years and their Impact

a) Academic adjustments in the face of war

World War I had a profound effect on university education throughout Canada. Student enrollments, faculty appointments and academic programs were adversely affected by the diversion of manpower and resources to wartime occupations.[1] Economic retrenchment policies instituted by governments in response to the war invariably included cutbacks in funding to higher education.[2] Universities were forced to reassess and modify their pre-war development priorities in the face of these budgetary restraints.

Not only did university authorities face the challenge of adapting to economic circumstances imposed by the war. As well, they were obliged to grapple with the question of their proper role in the current international crisis. And, while the enthusiasm of the period meant that there was little dissent on campuses from the military goals of the allied forces, there were still problems inherent in evaluating the meaning of such a cataclysm and the extent to which universities should participate in that effort.

At the University of Alberta, the war years were typified by the postponement or elimination of facilities and programs proposed earlier. Construction of the arts building, commenced prior to the onset of hostilities, was finally completed in 1915. However, no further major construction projects were undertaken for the duration of the war.

Particularly discouraging to President Tory was the lack of progress in the field of applied science during the war years. While satisfied with the quality of work undertaken in university laboratories, Tory informed the provincial government in 1915 that the extent of research performed since the beginning of the war had proved unsatisfactory.[3] Tory's pre-war goal of establishing an active mining engineering department was also delayed due to the exigencies of war. In response to government demands for further curtailment of university expenditures in 1916, Tory was moved to protest vehemently that expenses had been reduced to a bare minimum and could not possibly be cut again.[4]

Throughout the period 1914 to 1918, the war remained the chief priority of the university administration, thus replacing temporarily Tory's longer term schemes for educational development. Under Tory's leadership, the university seized the initiative in promoting financial, technical and moral support of the military cause throughout Alberta.

Tory's efforts to mobilize aid within the university and throughout Alberta were inspired both by his belief in the validity of Britain's cause, and by his conviction that the university should, in the event of war as in general community affairs, assume a leadership role. Tory thought of the war as a battle for the future of democracy, as developed thus far under the aegis of the British empire. "Absolutism and liberalism have met", he stated, and

Canada possessed a firm obligation to defend liberal democracy as embodied in the British empire.[5] "Civilization is asking a terrible price", the president announced, "but a price which is worth paying, if liberty and honour are to be conserved in the world".[5]

In defending the struggle for the British empire and democracy in general, Tory appears to have been considering not only the political, but also the educational, implications of the war. Based on his beliefs, firstly that education was the root of human progress, and, secondly, that the Anglo-Saxon race was among the greatest champions of education in the world,[7] he apparently felt compelled to help protect Anglo-Saxon society as a means of securing the future development of education.

In his capacity as university president, Tory did his utmost to impress upon members of the Alberta public, government, and university body alike the extreme gravity of the contemporary threat to democracy. He emphasized the urgency of military assistance from Canadians to the allied cause. Wartime preparation became the primary focus of university policy immediately following Canada's entry into the war in 1914.[8]

As one means of advancing the war cause, Tory encouraged and assisted university staff and students to participate in active military service. Under the president's guidance, the university proceeded, before the close of 1914, to design a complete course of military training. In addition, Tory requested and received Senate approval in March, 1915, to introduce military training as a substitute for peacetime physical education classes at the university.[9] By January, 1916, military drill had been instituted as a compulsory subject for all University of Alberta students.[10] In accordance with the dominant pre-war sentiment among university officials, a Senate motion to arrange university lectures dealing with peace was soundly defeated.[11]

In a further commitment to providing trained military personnel for service overseas, Tory collaborated with the presidents of other western Canadian universities, beginning in 1916, to recruit students for a western universities battalion of infantry and field ambulance staff.[12] In 1918, the university further undertook, at the request of the federal government, to supply manpower for a newly formed Canadian University Tanks Battalion.[13] Students enlisting in the universities battalion received academic standing based on their work prior to joining the military service.[14] Meanwhile, medical students who signed with the ambulance corps earned academic credit for their work overseas.[15] These measures were apparently intended to enhance the attractiveness of military service for university students.

Students not considered fit for active wartime service were also urged to contribute to the war effort, in an indirect manner. They were encouraged to assume jobs in such areas as teaching and farming, which experienced shortages of manpower as long as large numbers of able-bodied men were engaged in military service. To facilitate the maximum possible level of university student involvement in these occupation throughout the province, the university adopted such measures as the early closure of classes in the spring.[16]

As a means of encouraging faculty members as well as students to engage in the war effort, the university insured the security of tenure of professors who took leaves of absence for military service.[17] Even the most senior professors were encouraged to abandon regular teaching duties to enlist or perform professional services for the federal government during the war. That the normal pattern of academic progress was disrupted by the departure of these professors was evidently of less consequence to Tory than the possibility that the professors might make a beneficial contribution to the military cause.

In promoting the active involvement of university staff and students in the armed forces, Tory remained acutely conscious, however, of public opinion on this subject. North Americans, he believed, had traditionally taken a dim view of university involvement in military affairs.[18] While evidently in disagreement with this view, Tory displayed a keen sensitivity in 1914 and early 1915 to agitation in the newspapers concerning the formation of university officers corps.[19] With the deliberate intent of avoiding opposition to his views, Tory thus postponed his initial plans in 1914 to create an officers training corps within the University of Alberta.[20]

The corps was only formed in 1915 when public opinion evidently favored such a move.

Tory was also reluctant, despite his deep personal commitment to the war effort, to impose his opinions regarding active service on hesitant students. Tempering his personal convictions regarding the importance of the military cause with his strong respect for individual liberty, and his equally strong concern for public opinion, Tory urged restraint on the part of university authorities in pressing students to enlist. While stressing the need for mandatory military training of all male students, the president warned against exerting undue pressure on any one individual to enlist.[21] The decision to join the armed forces, he contended, was a matter of personal conscience, and should not be interfered with by the university.

Tory's efforts to encourage enlistment of University of Alberta staff and students were substantially rewarded, particularly in the latter war years. By the end of 1916, more than fifty percent of the university students had joined the armed forces.[22] By 1918, almost all physically fit male students had enlisted.[23] Key individuals among the academic staff also took leaves of absences, primarily to carry out administrative, research and teaching jobs connected with the war effort. For instance, E.A. Howes, dean of agriculture, accepted an assignment to assist the federal food controller. R.W. Boyle, professor of physics, conducted research relating to submarine detection, while A.E. Ottewell, secretary of the department of extension, joined the wartime Khaki University.

The most notable absence during the latter war years was that of Tory himself. Aside from his extensive involvement in organizing enlistment at the university, Tory became the driving force in the establishment and operation of the Khaki University for soldiers overseas. Initially, Tory undertook a six week tour of army educational camps in Europe at the request of the Canadian Young Men's Christian Association to report on the feasibility of creating a formal overseas university.[24] His recommendation that such an institution be formed met with the approval of the YMCA and resulted in the further request that he serve as president of the newly founded Khaki University.[25] He accepted, and departed for Europe in January, 1918, to fulfill his duties. He did not return to the University of Alberta until the late summer of 1919.[26]

It is worth mentioning, in light of Tory's commitment to education, that, as in the case of his overall support for the war effort, his decision to head the Khaki University was largely a product of his dedication to higher education. Convinced that, "many of the brightest intellects of the country would be lost to future public service unless they could be brought back into the universities when the war ended", he saw the call for assisting in university education overseas as "irresistible".[27] Once installed as Khaki University president, Tory earned a reputation for greater concern with the progress of the wartime university than with the war itself. Government officials, criticizing Tory's "messianic" conception of the importance of the Khaki University, complained that, "(t)he educational scheme is alright enough in its place, but we can't let him clutter up the war".[28]

In addition to its efforts to supply manpower to Canada's armed forces, the University of Alberta, under Tory's guidance, offered the use of its facilities wherever possible for wartime purposes. In early 1915, the Board of Governors moved to provide a stationary hospital to the federal government for military purposes.[29] Doctors, nurses, and equipment sufficient to create a 250 bed hospital were volunteered by the university.[30] Laboratories at the University of Alberta were also placed at the disposal of the federal Department of Militia.

The federal government, for unknown reasons, rejected the offer of a military hospital.[31] However, the bacteriological laboratory of the University of Alberta was widely used for military purposes as the university was called on to manufacture and administer typhoid vaccine to troops mobilized in western Canada.[32]

The department of extension became an essential vehicle of the university's effort to spread the gospel of wartime duty, not only to its own students and staff, but to residents throughout Alberta. Through the media of extension lectures, slides and debates, the university sought "to acquaint the public with the British point of view and to stimulate intelligent patriotic effort".[33] From the outset of the war, the extension department confined its lectures solely to wartime issues.[34] Over 100 lectures were delivered in 1915 and 1916 on the subject of "The First Year of the War".[35] As well, over 1000 lantern slides concerning the war were prepared and shown to audiences numbering over 12,000.[36] Debating packages also emphasized wartime topics. A popular package during the war years, for instance, dealt with "conscription versus enlistment".[37]

As a further means of augmenting support for the war, the extension department organized a Speakers Patriotic League.[38] Through this league, the university sponsored speeches intended to encourage greater patriotic endeavors among Albertans.[39] The department of extension also assumed responsibility for a lecture tour by two returned soldiers as a means of propogating the war effort.[40] It further enlarged its role in the wartime work of the community by assuming leadership of the provincial St. John's Ambulance Association in October, 1916.[41] Instruction was undertaken by this association in emergency first aid programs and home nursing throughout Alberta.

b) Tory's leave of absence

Throughout Tory's lengthy absence from the university, from January, 1918, to August, 1919, that institution continued to progress along the lines envisioned by the president. That his departure made little difference in the fulfillment of his policies was attributable to Tory's choice of acting president and to the character of the government and university administration during the period late 1917 to 1919.

Before leaving for the Khaki University, Tory created an administrative body to serve in his absence. An executive committee comprising agriculture dean E.A. Howes, arts and science dean W.A.R. Kerr, bursar Cecil Race, and classics professor W.H. Alexander was delegated to take over the chief tasks of university administration.[42]

As a replacement for his role as president, Tory selected Dean Kerr. The rationale for this choice likely stemmed from Kerr's previous record in advancing Tory's philosophy of education in his own work at the university. As dean of arts and science since 1914, and a frequent member of faculty committees, Kerr had successfully fulfilled important administrative duties at the university.[42] During Tory's increasingly frequent and lengthy absences from the university in the years prior to 1917, Kerr had ably assumed the task of acting president.[43]

In undertaking to serve in Tory's behalf on these occasions, Kerr had demonstrated both a desire and willingness to implement the president's ideals and policies. For instance, in replying to Tory's request to serve as acting head of the university during the latter's intended absence in late 1915, Kerr stated that, "I appreciate the honour duly and shall endeavor to act in accordance with what I conceive to be your wishes".[44] Tory's trust in Kerr's ability to administer the university was also evident in correspondence between these two following Tory's departure to the Khaki University. "I never doubted the spirit in which you have undertaken to relieve me during my absence", he told Kerr.[45]

While Tory possessed personal authority over the selection of an acting president, he was unable to dictate the composition of the provincial government, the Senate or the Board of Governors, all of which had determining voices in university policy during his absence. In his decision as to whether or not to leave the university for an extended period of time, Tory apparently took into consideration the attitude of each of these bodies towards his educational policies. Had an influential sector of the provincial government or university governing bodies appeared likely to resist his plans for further university development, it is doubtful that the president would have so readily accepted the job of Khaki University president.

In the case of both the provincial government and the Board of Governors, the prospects of unfriendly appointments did exist in early 1917. Fortunately, however, from the perspective of the president, there was every indication by late 1917 that harmony would prevail between his ideals and those of the majority of politicians and university administrators.

Tory's confidence that the Board of Governors would support his policies was boosted following changes to the composition of this body in mid-1917. Prior to this time, the president had faced opposition to his educational plans within the Board. At least one outspoken member caused "substantial mischief" in early 1917, according to Tory, before realizing "that he was absolutely wrong".[47] Tory became particularly apprehensive regarding his relationship with the board following the announcement of government plans to reduce the membership of that body from nine to five, and to make new appointments to it. The president feared that the legislation governing the reorganization of the board had been engineered by one particular board member, Dr. Euston Sisley.[48] It was Sisley's aim, the president suggested, to rid the board of members opposed to Tory's ideas, and to replace them with his personal supporters.[49]

Whether or not Tory's assessment of Sisley's motives and influence upon the provincial government was justified is uncertain. In any event, the outcome of the recomposition of the board was not, despite Tory's dire forecast, a conclave of Sisley supporters. While Tory was correct in his assumption that the majority of the previous board would not be reappointed, he erred in suggesting that only Sisley would be chosen again. Sisley was joined on the new board by Lewis M. Johnstone, a previous board member for Lethbridge.[50] The three new appointees included Horace Harvey, Arthur Carpenter and H.C. Taylor.

Tory was visibly pleased by the appointment of provincial Chief Justice Harvey as board chairman. From the outset of his term in office, Harvey displayed a sympathetic attitude towards Tory's educational goals. In contrast to his pessimistic predictions in early 1917 regarding the prospective character of the Board of

Governors, Tory commented optimistically in October, 1917, that the new chairman was very cooperative and that, under his leadership, "I think we will be able to turn over a new leaf".[51] The appointment of Judge H.C. Taylor was also prospectively favorable to the university. One of the most prominent individuals in Alberta in the early twentieth century, Taylor was particularly noted for his commitment to higher education in the province.[52] Having served on the first university Senate, he also acted for a period as chairman of Alberta College.[53]

The president's assessment of the attitude of the Board of Governors after 1917 proved accurate. Harvey proved, in the words of Acting President Kerr, to be particularly interested and anxious to help in the administration of the university during Tory's absence.[54]

In the case of the provincial government, Tory gained increased assurance, as a consequence of the June 1917 election and subsequent change in premiership, that relations between the government and university would be satisfactory even in the event of his absence from the university. In the 1917 election, as in previous elections, Tory staked the fortunes of the university on the prosperity of the provincial Liberal party. Despite the experience of occasional rifts in previous years between the university and government officials, the Liberals remained, in Tory's view, the party most likely to support his future plans for university development. The Conservative party continued, by contrast, to harbor the most vehement opponents of the University of Alberta and the most likely proponents of a second provincial university. As recently as 1916, for instance, Tory had suspected a deliberate Conservative plot to tarnish the image of the Edmonton based university in the eyes of the public. Perpetrators of the plot, the president thought, were prominent and influential Conservative supporters William Pearce and Pearce's acquaintance and member of the legislature, T.M. Tweedie.[55]

While the Conservatives succeeded in mounting strong pressure against the incumbent Liberals during the 1917 election campaign, the results of voting showed a healthy Liberal majority. Thirty-four Liberals were returned to the provincial legislature, compared to only nineteen Conservatives and three independents.[56]

In evaluating the election from the standpoint of the university, Tory expressed particular satisfaction at the distribution of respective Liberal and Conservative gains and losses throughout the province. The president was pleased to hear of the defeats suffered by Edward Michener, the former Calgary member of the legislature and leader of the Conservative opposition, and T.M. Tweedie, the suspected anti-university agitator.[57]

Tory especially welcomed the apparent shift in the centre of gravity of Conservative power away from Calgary as a result of the election. With the defeat of Michener, two of the three most likely successors to the Conservative leadership represented Edmonton constituencies; this was, in Tory's view, "a mighty important thing from the standpoint of the university".[58] Tory evidently assumed that, under the direction of an Edmonton member of the legislature, the Conservative party would be increasingly likely to abandon its former policy of support for a Calgary university and would try instead to cater to Edmontonians, by endorsing further development of the University of Alberta.

In fact, neither of the Edmonton candidates for the Conservative leadership, James Ramsey or A.F. Ewing, was ultimately successful. The third hopeful, George Hoadley, representing the constituency of Okotoks, was elected.[59] Even under Hoadley's direction, however, the Conservative party was not to adopt an assertive stance in favor of the establishment of more higher educational facilities in Calgary.

Following the Liberal victory of June, 1917, the complexion of the provincial government underwent a further change which, while initially causing anxiety for Tory, ultimately redounded, at least in his view, to the benefit of the university. As a consequence of the federal election of October, 1917, Alberta's premier Sifton was invited by the new federal Unionist government to assume a cabinet post. Sifton's acceptance of the federal offer necessitated the selection of a new leader within the provincial party. One of the chief challengers for the Liberal leadership was C.W. Cross, whose relationship with Tory had been far from smooth in the past. Cross was, however, overwhelmed in the leadership contest by Sifton's protege, Charles Stewart.

From the commencement of their relationship, the university president and Premier Stewart established a close, sympathetic rapport. The university remained subject to wartime provincial guidelines on spending, for instance, but Stewart displayed more generosity and enthusiasm towards developments in higher education than had his predecessor. In response to the university's request, Stewart authorized a substantially increased grant of $3000 for the operation of the provincial laboratory in 1918.[60] This prompted Kerr's comment that, "(h)e is really an exceedingly satisfactory man to have to deal with".[61] "For a non-college man", he remarked on a later occasion, Stewart "has remarkable sympathy with and desire to help higher education".[62]

Tory echoed Kerr's praise of Stewart's higher educational policies. In accordance with his own aim for centralized university control of higher education in Alberta, the president believed that Stewart was "certainly looking to us to give the cue to educational procedures in the future".[63] "It is certainly a pleasure", he commented elsewhere, "to have a man like (Stewart) to do business with".[64]

Of further significant benefit to the progress of Tory's educational plans was Stewart's tendency to support the concept of a single university in Alberta and, in that vein, to discourage efforts to grant greater authority to such institutions as the Provincial Institute of Technology and Arts. From 1915 until the time of Stewart's election, the status of the Provincial Institute remained uncertain and, as such, a menace to Tory's concept of one provincial university. University officials had initially feared that the Calgary based institute was to be granted "high potential powers of interference with existing institutions", and specifically with the University of Alberta.[65] Even when the initial duties of the institute were finally outlined in September, 1916, there was no guarantee that efforts would not be made to encroach upon the current academic jurisdiction of the University of Alberta. In addition to the lack of clear delineation between the responsibilities of the university and the vocational institute in such areas as mining instruction and teacher education, the University of Alberta was disturbed by the apparent tendency of the institution's superintendent, W.M. Davidson, to seek an extension of the powers of his institution.[66]

Premier Stewart proved openly to be a supporter of Tory's ideal of a single university in Alberta. Observing the lack of clarity as to the role of the technical institute, Stewart stressed the need to divide the duties of the university and that institution.[67] As well, the premier reiterated his stand against the overlapping of university activities by the new institute.[68] He announced plans in 1919 to reduce the possibility of future challenges to University of Alberta authority by expanding the Calgary Normal School, and thus placating Calgarians' desires for enhanced educational facilities in their city.[69]

The progress of the university in 1918 and 1919 for the most part justified Tory's hopes and expectations. New programs instituted during this time conformed in all but a few cases to his philosophy. For example, in the field of commerce, measures instituted during

Tory's absence moved the university one step closer to the latter's ultimate aim to create a school of commerce.[70] And, in establishing an agricultural course for returned soldiers, the university conformed to Tory's goal to make the university an important agent in meeting society's economic and social needs.[71] Five months in duration, this program was expected to meet the specific vocational needs of soldiers inexperienced in agriculture, but desiring a start in that occupation.

The creation of a mining engineering department, as planned by Tory before the war, was also approved by the provincial government, following pressure from the public and university administration. in 1919.[72] And, in the field of extension, the Farm Young People's Week, a program which embodied Tory's objectives regarding the university's role in the community, was implemented in 1919 following negotiations between Kerr, the Board of Governors and the United Farm Women's Association.[73] Dedication to cultivating character and knowledge among rural teenagers, the Farm Young People's Week program functioned as a further mechanism towards Tory's aim of imprinting the university's outlook on members of the community at large.

Among the rare instances in which Tory's views were overruled during his absence was the 1919 provincial government decision to allocate university building funds completely towards the construction of a medical building, despite Tory's stated disagreement with this policy.[74] An important factor leading to the denial of the president's wishes in this matter appears to have been Kerr's lack of assertiveness, relative to Tory's, in promoting the president's policies. Whether or not Tory's personal influence would have made a difference to the government's final decision in this matter is not possible to predict precisely. However, given Tory's previous and subsequent successes in swaying major political decisions regarding higher education in his favor, it is suspected that his presence during the building priorities discussion would have at least engendered greater controversy and debate than was provoked in his absence. There is no evidence that the university, under Kerr, mounted any sort of campaign to dissuade the provincial government from its announced goal of developing the university medical faculty immediately. Tory cabled a vehement "No" in response to the government's plans, but in the absence of more concerted resistance from the university, the scheme to erect the medical building proceeded.[75]

Statements of Acting president Kerr and Dean of Agriculture Howes regarding the medical building issue further indicate that the university succumbed to political pressure in Tory's absence. Regarding the refusal of the health minister to alter his position in favor of a large scale expenditure on the medical building, Howes commented that, "Those who remember the Honorable A.G. Mackay will have no trouble in understanding that he had his way".[76] Concerning the university's inability to sway the government on this matter, Kerr suggested that the Board of Governors "responded to pressure" in virtually promising approval for the government's medical building proposal.[77]

The end of the war and the return of Tory some ten months later signalled the end of the second phase in the development of the University of Alberta. No longer constrained by wartime financial pressures or preoccupied with the promotion of the war effort, university officials could afford once again to turn to the path of development instituted before the onset of the military crisis.

The period from mid-1914 to mid-1919 had marked a brief, but important hiatus in the overall evolution of the university under Tory's presidency. While typified by stagnation in the growth of facilities, academic personnel and student enrollment, these years were nevertheless characterized by progress towards Tory's educational objectives. In accordance with his belief that higher educational institutions should serve the needs of society, the University of Alberta had adapted its programs to meet what were seen as the exigencies of a wartime community. By willingly accepting the curtailment of its regular programs, by encouraging military enlistment and monetary contributions to the war effort, and by placing its own personnel and physical resources at the disposal of the armed forces, the university visibly strengthened its role as an institution dedicated to the solution of problems facing its surrounding community.

The period of Tory's presidency of the Khaki University had been particularly significant in terms of demonstrating the degree to which the university's existence and the president's policies had come to be accepted by the university administration and by Albertans in general. During the time of the university's formation and initial growth, Tory's individual presence had been a key factor in the realization of his schemes for development. However, by the latter stages of the war, it was evident, both from his decision to leave the university for an extended period of time, and from the events which characterized the university during his absence, that the university could not only survive, but flourish, in the absence of the president.

The tendency of the university to reflect Tory's principles even during his absence was to be an important factor influencing the president's subsequent decision as to how long to retain his leadership post at that institution. The greater the extent to which the university mirrored his ideals, the greater was the possibility that Tory might consider leaving that institution to the direction of others. Once offered a new and challenging career during the 1920's, Tory could not help but be influenced by the knowledge that the University of Alberta had, on a former occasion, ably upheld his aims and policies, despite his lengthy absence from his post as president.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

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46. H.M. Tory to W.A.R. Kerr, 1 June 1918, Tory papers, RG 3, f. 1407-A, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

47. H.M. Tory to Walter Murray, 2 February 1917, Tory papers, RG 3, f. 902-3dB, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

48. H.M. Tory to W.A.R. Kerr, 8 June 1917, Tory papers, RG 3, f. 1501-B, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

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50. Alberta Order-in-Council 1110-17, 28 August 1917.

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52. Archibald O. MacRae, History of the Province of Alberta, 2 vols. (Western Canadian History Company, 1912), 2:887.

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55. H.M. Tory to Walter Murray, 2 February 1917, Tory papers, RG 3, f. 902-3dB, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

56. Lewis G. Thomas, The Liberal Party in Alberta; a history of

politics in the province of Alberta, 1905-1921 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959), p. 178.

57. The only "fly in the ointment" concerning the Liberals' showing in the election, in Tory's view, was the victory of W.M. Davidson, editor of the Calgary Albertan. According to the university president, Davidson "has always been hostile and has been the one person who has stood out for the magnification of the Technical Institute". However, even the election of Davidson was not without its possible advantages for the university. Due to the latter's contemporaneous election to the university Senate, "it is just possible", Tory stated, that "we may have him for a friend instead of an opponent", H.M. Tory to W.A.R. Kerr, 8 June 1917, Tory papers, RG 3, f. 1501-B, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

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74. R.D. Sinclair, "The First Thirty Years", history of the department of agriculture, RG 40, f. 76-25-338, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

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CHAPTER 6

Post War Aims and Government Relations

In the field of higher education, as in all aspects of Canadian society, the war years had constituted more than just a physical interregnum in the overall pattern of development. In many ways, the war marked a watershed in the social, economic and political growth of the nation. The post-war era was characterized, for instance, by an increasing trend towards urbanization and industrialization throughout Canada.[1] Science and technology, after having made great strides forward during the war, were to play a steadily growing role in the working and leisure lives of all Canadians after 1918.

In the field of educational philosophy, the post-war years were marked by a heightened tendency to doubt the validity of liberal idealism and to endorse such empirical theories as pragmatism. The liberal idealists' belief that the world was constantly progressing towards absolute truth, knowledge and happiness was subject to increasing skepticism and cynicism in light of the cataclysmic events of the war.[2] By contrast, increasing credence was given, as a result of scientific progress, to the empirical notion that knowledge and values were relative, and subject to change on the basis of new discoveries and observations.

The University of Alberta was to be strongly affected in the post-war decade, as in earlier years, by the educational philosophy of its president. The effect of the war on Tory had been to reinforce, rather than dampen, his outlook as a Christian idealist. At the same time, it strengthened his commitment to empirical educational techniques as a means of achieving his idealistic goals.

Tory did not emerge from war, as did some of his contemporaries, with a pessimistic view of human progress.[3] He did not perceive the war as a repudiation of the theory of progressive evolution of mankind. Rather, he saw the results of the war as indicative of the strength of liberal democracy relative to the forces of tyranny and absolutism. "I regard civilization", he stated in 1923, "as a thoroughly progressive thing".[4] The outcome of the war, that is, the victory by the allied forces, enhanced his optimism regarding the future development of humanity.[5]

One of the chief manifestations of human advancement as a consequence of the war was, in Tory's opinion, the League of Nations. Praising the goals of world peace, cooperation and goodwill advanced by this organization, Tory predicted that, "mankind will never again entrust its future to the mentality of a warlord".[6]

In another illustration of his optimistic attitude towards human development in the post-war years, Tory claimed in 1923 that the "real spirit of progress" was alive and flourishing in the world.[7] The number of superior minds throughout the world was greater at that time, he contended, than at any other previous time in history.[8]

As in the pre-war era, Tory perceived the key to the future prosperity of mankind in the advancement of knowledge and education.

To an even greater extent than in previous years, Tory stressed the importance of scientific approach to education and problem-solving in all areas of society.[9] "Scientific tradition is worth fighting for", he stated in 1925.[10] "In the long run", he added, "on the economic and social side of human life, at least, the future lies with science".[11] "I am convinced", he asserted in a later address, "that science will add to the wealth of the world in twenty-five years all that the world has lost during the great war".[12]

Tory was particularly vociferous in his views regarding the importance of post-war scientific research to the survival and growth of Canada. Without greatly extended efforts in scientific research, he believed, Canadians would suffer severely in future international competition for industrial development, trade, and commerce. And, if allowed to lag behind other nations in technological and economic development, he warned, Canada would relinquish its claim to political and economic sovereignty, and revert to a nation of peasants and traders.[13]

As in previous years, Tory spoke continuously and wherever possible in the 1920's about the need for a more educated political and economic leadership in Canada. "Generally speaking", he stated, "Canada has not realized the importance of utilizing trained men in the public service and in the industrial life of the country. Political patronage on the one hand and business and industrial stupidity on the other have been the main causes for this".[14] Lashing out specifically at what he termed the traditional tendency of Canadians to treat scientists as "dabblers", he urged that these people be accorded the same recognition and monetary rewards as lawyers and businessmen.[15]

While lauding scientific enquiry as the ideal tool of human progress, Tory was cognizant, and critical, of the growing post-war trend towards the use of science for purely materialistic rather than idealistic, spiritual ends. In a stinging attack on what he saw as the perversion of science, he charged during the mid-1920's that, "the idolatry of science, a dominant characteristic of the modern world, is but the most splendid form of the cult of materialism".[16] The "spirit of materialism", he stated, "is enslaving society".[17]

Even as he pressed personally for an upsurge in scientific research throughout Canada, Tory cautioned against the tendency to glorify scientific knowledge at the expense of non-scientific, religious forms of knowledge. Claiming that science may have become too confident in its assumptions regarding the universe, he chided mankind for having concluded that the universe could only be known through scientific measurement.[18] Such an assumption was dangerous and faulty, he believed, because it gave no credence to the valid role of man's creative intuition in understanding his environment. In addition to knowledge acquired through well-defined logic and mathematical certitude, Tory suggested, "our response to beauty and the mystic's sense of communion with God may be real clues to eternal reality".[19]

Despite his anxiety regarding the growth of materialism and excessive worship of science, Tory evidently remained optimistic in the post-war decade, that humanity would spurn these false ideals and adopt his more balanced view of harmony between spirit and substance, reason and intuition. Aside from occasional speeches such as those cited above, in which he condemned materialism and the corruption of science, Tory was to devote little attention during the 1920's to publicizing his concerns in this regard. Rather, he was to reveal an increasing preoccupation in his speeches with the immediate, material benefits of scientific research.

In terms of the concrete actions of the university, the period 1918 to 1928 was, in Tory's own words, "a period of consolidation of the university and the development of research in a practical way".[20] Policies and programs instituted before the war were revived and expanded wherever feasible, within the limitations of financial resources and public opinion. In line with the president's strong convictions regarding the value of scientific research, the university made particular efforts to cultivate a scientific mentality among students and to develop comprehensive research programs within various university departments.

Regarding the role of the university in society, Tory proposed to strengthen links between the University of Alberta and the general public. Responding to suggestions by one of the university senators, W.M. Davidson, that the government and university work more closely together in the post-war era, Tory stated in

1919 that, "on my return I would want to take up some new and enlarged fields of connection with the public and in ways that are unusual in Canadian universities, but which I think will meet with the approval and hearty support of men like Mr. Davidson".[21]

The notion of closer ties between the university and the community was especially applicable to the field of adult education, in Tory's view. In his letter to Senator Davidson, the president claimed to have had "plans to submit that will relate the university to the province as a whole on a scale much larger than anything I have ever dreamed of before the war".[22]

Tory did not elaborate as to the details of plans for future university-public relations. However, it was clear from other statements that he retained his pre-war concept of the university as both servant and master of society. He described the function of the university professor as being, for instance, to give "technical instruction and advice wherever required".[23] But, according to his view, it was the educated individuals in society who were to determine what instruction and advice were required at any given time. The "majority of any given community are not sufficiently advanced in education or political understanding", he stated, "to appreciate the point of view of a highly trained man".[24]

As in previous years, Tory stressed the need for the intellectual leaders of society to communicate their knowledge and expertise in a manner understandable and acceptable to the public at large. The educated man, Tory cautioned, must not be "dogmatic" or "supercilious" in relating to others in society.[25] One of the great faults of Canadian intellectuals, he added, was to adopt a "more intellectual than thou" attitude to their public, thus creating a situation where "the scientific man is often not listened to while the faddist is".[26] Tory aimed to achieve a situation in Alberta where the scientist possessed a key influence upon all aspects of development.

A major event affecting university-government relations during the period following Tory's return was the replacement of the province's Liberal government by a United Farmers of Alberta administration. As the election of mid-1921 approached, the prospect of a transformation in political power in Alberta became increasingly imminent. After the end of the war, the Liberals had faced growing opposition, not from their traditional foes, the Conservatives, but from a new force in provincial politics, the United Farmers of Alberta.[27]

The threat of defeat of Stewart's Liberal administration caused apprehension among Tory and a number of his administrative colleagues at the university. They apparently favored the return of Stewart as premier, on the basis of both his generally favorable record thus far in cooperating with the university and his promised future policies on education and research. Having proposed as a major campaign plank, efforts to obtain provincial control of natural resources, Stewart vowed to use future revenues from provincial resource exploitation to finance education, public health and scientific and industrial research.[28] Each of these proposed expenditures conformed to Tory's views regarding government spending priorities.

In contrast to the Liberals, the newly formed United Farmers of Alberta was an unknown quantity in terms of its willingness and ability to promote Tory's scheme of university development. Given the U.F.A.'s strong commitment in previous years to the practical interests of farmers in the province, however, it was plausible for the university administrators to assume that this party would be less interested than the Liberals in educational programs which did not directly serve the practical interests of its rural supporters.

Among the U.F.A. leadership, there was some support for an idealistic as opposed to pragmatic approach to education. Such prominent U.F.A. spokesmen as Henry Wise Wood believed the existing provincial university to be too practical in its approach to higher education, and particularly rural education.[29] At the grass root level, however, U.F.A. opinion appears to have been largely anti-intellectual. In the period prior to the 1921 election, the U.F.A. had witnessed growing internal pressure for the expansion of vocational education and for the reversal of what was felt to be the current trend in Alberta towards educating children away from the farm.[30] At the university level, the practical, non-academic bias of the U.F.A. was expressed in a proposal by the party's educational department to abolish the second language requirement for the Bachelor of Arts degree at the University of Alberta.

Particularly vulnerable to opposition from the U.F.A. was Tory's ideal of intellectual leadership in society. The popular appeal of the U.F.A. was largely based on such factors as its freedom from dependence on leadership by education or experience.[31] As a political party, the U.F.A. was to seek deliberately to avoid what it considered the misleading influence of universities.[32] Such an attitude on the part of the U.F.A. was clearly contradictory to Tory's aims for a strong university role in moulding Alberta's social and economic development.

As in previous election campaigns, there is no evidence of Tory's having taken a visible role in promoting a Liberal victory. However, as in the past, his stand in favor of the Liberal party was revealed in certain of his statements and actions. For instance, the president was accused at one point by senior English professor E.K. Broadus of having made unwarranted statements to the effect that the U.F.A. policies were anti-university in nature. Broadus charged Tory with having suggested that, in the wake of a U.F.A. victory, measures would be taken to eliminate certain members of the university staff.[33] Such statements could have been construed as scare tactics, intended to convince staff members not to vote for the farmer's party, for fear of losing their jobs. Tory, while denying having made such statements, did admit to having urged caution in future dealings between the university and the public.[34]

While the election resulted in a sweeping U.F.A. victory, the character of the new government proved less ominous in the eyes of university officials than previously feared. Dean Kerr, commenting to Tory on the election results, stressed that the prospects for future government-university relations were not nearly as bleak as formerly envisioned. "I do not think you need feel unduly anxious", he told Tory.[35] "My own feeling", he continued, "is that if we were to have a farmers' government, things might have come out much worse ...".[36]

An important basis for Kerr's optimism was the seemingly cooperative attitude of the new premier, Herbert Greenfield, towards higher education. "I think we may congratulate ourselves", he informed the president.[37] "He is said to be a man much of the Stewart type".[38] Addressing the issue of the outlook of the provincial legislature in general on the university, Kerr predicted, again optimistically, that, "I know it is hard, so to speak, to start all over again to make converts of a new lot of men, but perhaps conversion this time will be easier than in the former instance".[39]

Kerr's initial assessment of the Greenfield government's attitude to the University of Alberta was, for the most part, borne out by the actions of that administration. With several notable, but short-lived exceptions, the U.F.A. proved amenable to the university's plans for growth. In reply to a question as to the relative freedom of state and endowed universities in Canada, Tory stated that, "I am not bothered by government interference".[40] Responding to questions at a Senate meeting in November, 1921, Tory further reported that the election had thus far not resulted in a significant alteration of government policies towards the university.[41] Prospects for future government-university relations were, in his view, "of a favorable character" at that time.[42] "We had no reason". he added, "to expect that the university would suffer by the change of government".[43]

Despite initial warnings by the premier that cutbacks in government spending on the university would be necessary to combat the province-wide economic recession, the government authorized a substantial increase in the legislative grant to the University of Alberta in 1922 over that of the previous year.[44] While the university estimates were curtailed once again in 1923, as the effects of the recession worsened,[45] the overall record of the Greenfield government showed a slight increase in the annual per student grant over what was achieved under the Stewart administration.[46]

Contributing to the favorable relationship between the

University of Alberta and the Greenfield government was the compatibility, at least on educational issues, of Tory and some of the key members of the U.F.A. caucus. Greenfield himself displayed a great deal of respect and appreciation for Tory as university president.[47] Perren Baker, minister of education under both Greenfield and the latter's successor, J.E. Brownlee, also shared a number of educational ideals with Tory. Like Tory, for instance, Baker favored a traditional humanistic approach to higher education, designed to build character.[48] In accordance with Tory's plans, Baker encouraged the expansion of university programs.[49]

Another U.F.A. cabinet minister who was particularly sumpathetic to Tory's educational policies was Irene Parlby, minister without portfolio in the Greenfield government, and member of the University of Alberta Board of Governors from 1919 to 1921. An active proponent of improvements in rural education in Alberta,[50] Parlby established an early and close rapport with President Tory.[51] Like the university president, she emphasized the importance of education as the fundamental basis on which the social and political structure of a community should be laid.[52]

As in relations with former Liberal governments, Tory sought to maintain and, wherever necessary, heighten political support for the university. The president's strategy was, as in earlier years, to educate politicians to the past, present and potential future benefits of the university to the community as a whole.

In accordance with his philosophy of communicating to people in terms which they could understand and appreciate, he particularly stressed the material benefits of the university. During the first years of U.F.A. government, for instance, Tory submitted a number of lengthy memoranda to the government, detailing the material accomplishments and plans of individual university departments. One such document described the nature and quality of work performed by the university's agricultural and medical faculties. It specifically outlined the academic and research achievements of individual professors.[53] Another memorandum, prepared by the dean of agriculture, pointed out that the financial savings accrued annually from the use of a newly invented breed of clover at the university, would be sufficient to pay for the yearly cost of operating the agricultural college.[54]

In further efforts to promote interaction between the government and the university, Tory occasionally sent university staff to address the legislature regarding the importance of their work. For example, Professor Robert Newton was delegated to speak to the legislative agricultural committee regarding the need for more funds for university agricultural research.[55]

Tory also encouraged politicians to visit the university and develop greater contact with the type of work occurring there. Within months of the U.F.A. electoral victory, a special invitation was conveyed to members of the legislature to attend a tour of the university. In 1924, as a further means of increasing familiarity between government departments and the university, Tory suggested that deputy ministers of the public health and agriculture departments become members of the university Senate.[56]

The replacement of Greenfield by J.E. Brownlee as premier in November, 1925, had little effect on relations between the government and the university. As one of the chief strategists and organizers of the U.F.A. in its early years, Brownlee had been influential in the formulation and implementation of party policy. As attorney-general in Greenfield's government, Brownlee had gained further prominence as a leading spokesman and policy-maker within the U.F.A.

To the extent that the Greenfield administration already embodied Brownlee's views, the takeover of the premiership by the latter in 1925 did not provoke changes in government educational policy. Perren Baker remained minister of education under Brownlee, while the new premier himself assumed his predecessor's role as chairman of the Scientific and Industrial Research Council of Alberta, an organization formed jointly by the university and the government in 1921.

Even the election which followed Brownlee's installment as premier had virtually no impact on government-university relations. There was little doubt, from the outset of the 1926 election campaign, that the U.F.A. would return a majority government. Despite speculation over the preceding two years that provincial politics were heating up, and that the traditional parties would wage a stronger, more successful battle than in 1921, the opposition facing the government in 1926 remained weak and largely ineffectual.[57]

The results of the election reaffirmed and, in fact, strengthened the Brownlee government's claim to power. Of sixty electoral seats, the U.F.A. took forty-three, the Liberals seven, the Labor party six, and the Conservatives four. Higher education had not been a major or contentious issue during the 1926 campaign. There was no suggestion, therefore, that the Brownlee government would either voluntarily or under public pressure revise its outlook on the University of Alberta following the election.

Tory's ambition to preserve the University of Alberta as the single authority over higher education in Alberta was most threatened after, as before, World War I by efforts to create an independent, post-secondary educational institution in Calgary. The 1920's saw attempts to expand the Provincial Institute of Technology and Arts to encompass degree programs and industrial research. Measures were also taken to promote the formation of a junior college capable of offering first and second year university courses in Calgary.

Despite these efforts, the likelihood that an institution capable of competing with the University of Alberta would be established grew weaker as the 1920's progressed. Factors accounting for this trend included a decline in government support for the concepts of either a second degree granting or a research institution, and the finalization of negotiations regarding the precise role of the Provincial Institute of Technology and Arts.

The struggle to make Calgary an important centre of industrial research in Alberta was led by William Pearce, one of the foremost advocates of a higher educational institution for Calgary.[59] At a time when, as will be seen, Tory was engaged in efforts to make the University of Alberta the focus of industrial research in Alberta, Pearce proposed the enlargement of activities of the institute in Calgary to include coal experiments. Employing a line of reasoning invoked in prior years to justify higher educational developments in Calgary, Pearce asserted that, having once refused to make Calgary the seat of the provincial university, the provincial government was "duty bound" to carry the subsequently founded Provincial Institute of Technology and Art "to its logical conclusion", that is, to a position of greater size and influence in provincial education.[60]

In pressing for the takeover of coal investigations by the institute in Calgary, Pearce was aware that such action would likely meet with opposition from Tory. "We can foresee", he predicted, "a big fight put up by Professor Torey (sic) and all his subordinates, who as a class blindly acclaim whatever he may assert".[61]

As in the case of the original location of the provincial university, Pearce and his supporters were to lose in their bid to secure the placement of provincial research facilities in Calgary. The provincial government decided instead to adhere to Tory's plan for a single research agency, closely linked physically and administratively to the University of Alberta.

Aside from Pearce's recommendation for an augmented research program within the Provincial Institute of Technology and Arts, efforts were made after World War I to extend the teaching function of the institute to include courses leading to university degrees. Tory emerged from a meeting in November, 1919, regarding the future status of the Calgary institute with the distinct impression that, while still uncertain as to the exact nature of the institution they envisioned, an influential group of Calgarians definitely sought university calibre courses for their city.[62] Particularly perturbing to the president was the government's apparent responsiveness to this proposal. After having investigated the Calgary institute, L.W. Gill, the federal director of technical education, reported to Tory that, "as matters stand now I think that the people of Calgary have practically got the government committed to the establishment of two years of university grade work at Calgary, this work to be entirely away from the control of the university.[63]

As events unfolded, Tory was spared confrontation with the Stewart government over the issue of the Provincial Institute of Technology and Art. The political demise of the Liberals during the 1921 election set back, at least temporarily, the efforts of Calgarians to obtain government support for their stand. They were obliged to begin completely anew in lobbying the U.F.A. government.

Unfortunately, from Tory's perspective, the advocates of a Calgary university remained undeterred in pursuit of their cause. By 1924, pressure had been revived for the commencement of university courses in Calgary. A petition requesting first and second year courses in Calgary was drawn up and presented to the provincial government by the City of Calgary.[64]

Vocal support for this course of action was received from Liberal member of the legislature and long-time supporter of the Provincial Institute, W.M. Davidson, and from another member of the legislature, Captain Robert Pearson.[65] A suggestion was forwarded to use funds designated for the University of Alberta to finance the creation of a junior college in Calgary.[66] Supporters of the proposal, primarily Calgary businessmen, ultimately intended to use the college's growth as a foothold from which to argue the need for a full-fledged university in Calgary.[67]

Tory's response to the junior college proposal was reminiscent of his earlier reaction to suggestions of a second provincial university. Predicting that the provincial government would eventually be burdened with the costs of building, staffing and maintaining such an institution, he asserted that Albertans could not yet afford and did not yet need a junior college.[68] Regarding the proposal that university estimates be redirected towards support of a Calgary junior college, Tory stated that, "this would be a crime against higher education in Alberta", particularly when the University of Alberta was already suffering from inadequate funding for equipment and salaries.[69]

Tory's stand on this issue was upheld by the provincial government. No steps were taken before Tory's retirement to further the cause of a junior college in Calgary.

In a further development regarding the status of post-secondary education in Calgary, a university committee was formed to investigate the question of affiliation between the University of Alberta and the Provincial Institute of Technology and Art. By May, 1926, this committee had concluded in favor of affiliation between the two institutions on such terms that university credit could be received at Calgary for those courses which conformed to University of Alberta academic standards.[7] This arrangement removed the uncertainty of the previous decade concerning the role of the institute in Calgary. It thus forestalled further efforts to sway government policy towards the expansion of that institution to the status of a degree granting school, capable of competing with the University of Alberta.

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CHAPTER 7

Academic Developments, 1919-1928
Expansion and Consolidation

a) Arts and science faculty

Concerning the University of Alberta curriculum, the tendency throughout the post-war decade was towards the greater fulfillment of Tory's original scheme, that is, a thriving arts and science faculty, an active department of extension and a number of strong professional schools. In accordance with Tory's belief in the urgency of scientific progress, particular attention was devoted to the expansion of scientific research activities at the university.[1]

One of the earliest actions undertaken following Tory's return was to reevaluate and recommend revisions to the arts and science courses at the university. Tory's motives in prompting such a review were representative of his continued desire to strike a balance between contemporary idealistic and pragmatic approaches to higher education. Like the pragmatists, but to a limited extent, Tory favored the principle of electives in an arts and science program. In an idealistic vein, he continued to see certain aspects of an arts and science degree program as essential for all students and thus as exempt from the principle of electives. In his own words, he aimed to "secure greater freedom in the election of courses without abandoning in any sense the basic feature of a sound education as dictated by long experience".[2]

The final outcome of the committee's review was an arts and science curriculum which contained more provision for electives,[3] but which was intended to preserve the basic scheme of liberal arts education introduced by Tory more than a decade earlier.[4] To achieve this latter objective, the Senate ordered that certain courses remain mandatory for all students in a given degree program. All students in an arts program, for example, were compelled to take a physics course and one additional laboratory science course in their third or fourth years.[5]

A significant, although not surprising, departure in the faculty of arts and science was the appointment of a professor of political economy following the war. That Tory was amenable to the introduction of social science courses, such as political economy, had been evident as far back as 1909 when, in the event of his failure to find a philosophy professor, Tory had considered hiring a political economist. For the most part, however, during the first decade of the university's development, the humanities and physical sciences had outweighed the social sciences as priorities of the university administration.

By the end of the war, a growing practical need was perceived among university officials for social as well as physical science courses as means of fulfilling the university's role to aid in society's development. The task of post-war reconstruction required, in their view, an economist capable of assisting government officials.[6] Particularly urgent, in the words of Acting president Kerr, was a university scholar capable of combatting the contemporary influence of "superficially clever radicals who have the public ear".[7]

Both the provincial and federal governments expressed interest in employing university professors as advisors on social and economic matters during the early 1920's. The University of Alberta thus moved a small, but significant, step closer to the role of the University of Wisconsin as a source of expertise for political officials. D.A. MacGibbon, the first professor of political economy at the University of Alberta, undertook assignments for both the provincial and federal governments during the 1920's, for instance. For the provincial government, he served as a one man commission on banking and credit.[8] For the federal government, he completed a study concerning grain marketing during 1923.[9]

In another instance of university professors assisting government officials, J.M. MacEachran, a professor in philosophy and psychology, assumed the role of consultant to the provincial government on a number of occasions during the post-war decade. At the request of the government, for instance, he evaluated and reported on conditions at a welfare home in Gleichen in 1919, and at a central Alberta sanitorium in 1928.[10] In addition, he aided in the formulation of mental health legislation and served as chairman of the Alberta Eugenics Board, beginning in 1928.[11]

Aside from its post-war curriculum revisions and its expansion in the realm of social sciences, the faculty of arts and sciences did not constitute a major concern of the university president during the 1920's. While the university administration made every effort possible to acquire the necessary academic staff and facilities to accomodate growing numbers of arts and science students, expansion of this faculty was not a chief priority of the university president.

As at the time of the university's inception, Tory remained convinced that an imbalance existed between the development of the arts and science fields of higher education. Research in the area of applied science, in his view, continued to require more attention from university and government authorities. "We are doing as much work under the faculty of arts as we are warranted in doing", he stated in 1925, "until such time as the more technical aspects of the university work are brought up to the necessary requirements of the province".[12] For example, he noted, the university's agricultural programs deserved much more attention than they currently received in terms of efforts to secure staff and equipment.[13] Thus, while every effort was made to expand staff and facilities to accomodate growth in the numbers of arts and science students during the 1920's, in terms of policy consideration, attention was focussed primarily upon the applied science faculty and professional schools.

b) Professional faculties and schools - Applied Science

In the field of professional education, the post-war decade witnessed efforts, under Tory's direction, both to expand the number and scope of degree programs and to enhance the extent of centralized university control of instruction in Alberta. As in earlier years, progress in developing professional schools and faculties at the university was influenced by public opinion and government policy as well as the ambitions of Tory and his administrative colleagues. Public and governmental attitudes tended generally to favor an increasing growth of university responsibility for setting educational standards and conducting examinations. By 1921, the university had extended its control over professional examinations to include the fields of architecture, veterinary science, optometry, and nursing. In none of these areas was strenuous resistance encountered to the principle of university authority.

Increasing support was registered, too, for the expansion of the university's teaching role in such fields as engineering, medicine, law and commerce. However, opposition was voiced during the 1920's, as in previous years, to university attempts to control agricultural and teacher education in the province.

For the faculty of applied science, the decade following the end of World War I provided an opportunity to institute or expand a number of programs planned or implemented before the war. In accordance with Tory's belief that the university should cater directly to the educational needs of society, programs established during the 1920's tended to be those for which the need was perceived to be the greatest. Mining engineering, for instance, was expanded in the early 1920's to deal with current industrial problems relating to the use of coal and tar sands, while a specialized pattern of chemical engineering studies was inaugurated in 1927 in response to requests from students and industrial institutions.[14] Studies in engineering physics was also enlarged as a result of requests from federal research authorities for more graduates in this field and a growing desire by the university for its own researchers in this area.[15]

On a larger scale than ever before, and in conformity with Tory's view of the importance of research, scientific research projects were conducted within the faculty of applied science.[16] An impressive and growing list of publications attested to the dedication of the University of Alberta faculty in carrying out experimental work, particularly related to specific industrial problems. In accordance with Tory's ambition that the university assume an active role in eliminating practical problems throughout society, the applied science staff performed investigations on behalf of the City of Edmonton, provincial government departments and such federal organizations as the Dominion Air Council.[17]

By the mid 1920's, the University of Alberta's work in the field of applied science was comparable in extent to that of many large North American universities. According to historian Robin Harris, small universities tended to offer courses in two or three of the fields of civil, mining, mechanical or electrical engineering, while large universities often dealt with all these fields and, in addition, with chemical engineering.[18] The University of Alberta remained a small university in terms of student population throughout the 1920's. However, it provided courses in each of the five fields of applied science considered common to a large university.

Relative to other applied science faculties in North America, the University of Alberta was in the vanguard of modern development, according to applied science dean Boyle. As reported by a Carnegie Foundation committee, the field of applied science as a whole faced a number of difficulties by the mid-1920's.[19] These included a high drop-out rate, a confusing multiplicity of departments and programs, and discouragingly heavy timetables for engineering students.[20] While agreeing with the committee's assessment of the nature and extent of these problems, Boyle suggested that the University of Alberta had succeeded to a greater extent than most institutions in overcoming them.[21]

Another problem faced by some universities, but which Tory believed to have been resolved satisfactorily at the University of Alberta, concerned the cultural education of engineers. In the majority of Canadian universities, subject matter beyond engineering was very limited.[22] As to the question of the type of training which engineering students should receive outside the confines of their own faculty, Tory manifested his bias in favor of a combination of idealistic and empirical, theoretical and practical instruction in any field of professional education. At the University of Alberta, he stated, "we have set our faces firmly to the development of our engineering students on the cultural side as distinct from the purely practical science and I think that we can claim that we have succeeded very well indeed".[23] Faced with the disposition on the part of engineering students to slight English, the university responded by making the English courses "rigid" and of equal importance to the science courses in that faculty.[24]

Crucial to relations between the university and public in the field of applied science was the creation of the Association of Professional Engineers and the subsequent request of that organization to affiliate with the university, in 1920.[25] After what Tory termed a difficult period of two years' negotiations between the university and the professional association, an agreement amenable to both parties was reached.[26] The following years witnessed smooth and cooperative relations between the university and the Association of Professional Engineers.

c) Medicine

In medicine, Tory moved at the outset of the 1920's to accomplish his long term goal of establishing a complete degree program within the university. The timing of this action was motivated by a combination of factors, including the steady growth of enrollment in medicine following the war, the apparently enhanced prospects for clinical facilities and equipment at the university, and the decision of eastern Canadian medical schools to restrict admission of western Canadian students beginning in 1921.[27]

In his goal of expanding the University of Alberta's medical faculty, Tory was supported by administrators and academic staff at the University. The ambition of the medical faculty was to make their university the leading centre of medical education for all of western Canada.[28] The president's plans were hindered in the early 1920's, however, by a lack of necessary funds and facilities to conduct advanced medical instruction.[29] Tory's personal role in overcoming these obstacles was crucial to the growth of the medical faculty during the post-war decade.

To solve the problems of inadequate clinical facilities, Tory sought to procure the South Side Hospital for the university.[30] Following negotiations between the university and provincial and federal government authorities, Tory persuaded the provincial government to buy the hospital in 1922.[31] At Tory's suggestion, three members of the hospital's governing board were henceforth to be chosen by the provincial government rather than by a corporation of donors, as in previous years. As one of the three new appointees to this hospital board, Tory was guaranteed an effective voice in subsequent hospital administrative decisions.[32]

In conjunction with his attempts to take over the South Side Hospital, Tory pursued the issue of increased funding for medical development at the University of Alberta. Apparently perceiving provincial funds to be inadequate for this purpose, he investigated the prospects for assistance from the private sector. Having once learned of the intention of the Rockefeller Foundation in 1920 to donate one million dollars to support medical education in Canada and the United States, he appealed directly to the foundation for funds to meet the University of Alberta's clinical needs.[33] This bold move paid off. The Rockefeller Foundation promised the university a total sum of $500,000, to be paid in a number of installments, beginning with $25,000.[34]

Tory did not halt his pressure on the Rockefeller group, however, following the initial promise of financial assistance to his university. While the first $25,000 received from the foundation was appreciated, it was not felt sufficient to cover the desired level of expenditures for expansion of clinical facilities. Premier Greenfield had informed the university president in 1921 that, due to existing financial conditions, the provincial government would not back the establishment of a completely staffed and highly equipped medical facility.[35] Tory reacted to the premier's disappointing statements by lobbying the Rockefeller Foundation for the release of the entire $500,000 in one lump sum.[36] He succeeded in acquiring the promised funds in 1924. The premier, in response to Tory's action in this regard, abandoned his opposition to the further expansion of the university's medical faculty.

Once assured of improved clinical facilities, the university moved quickly to extend its scope of medical instruction. In 1922, courses in fourth year medicine were added while, in the following year, fifth year courses were offered. In 1925, the university graduated its first class of medical doctors.[37]

In conjunction with its development of medical instruction, the University of Alberta was obliged during the early 1920's to take a stand on the validity of chiropractic as a profession. Much controversy surrounded the question in North America at that time as to whether or not chiropractic was a legitimate profession. While chiropractors were considered by many to be nothing more than quacks, there was a growing clientele for their services.[38] In some jurisdictions, chiropractors had made headway towards legal recognition of their trade. In eight American states, for example, chiropractic was treated as a legitimate profession by 1922.[39]

In Alberta, chiropractic was not yet legally recognized as a profession at the outset of the 1920's. However, there was powerful pressure from the Alberta Chiropractors Association and their supporters for special legislation dealing with chiropractic accreditation.[40] The provincial government's response to this lobby was indicative of the growing tendency of politicians to think of the university in Tory's terms, that is, as the ideal arbiter of educational decisions in the province. In 1920, responsibility was delegated to the University of Alberta, initially on an experimental basis, for the conduct of chiropractic licensing examinations.[41]

Under Tory's leadership, the university's official position was that, to earn professional status, chiropractors, like other professionals, must adhere to the principles of scientific education. Basic scientific knowledge, according to the Senate, was necessary to any healing art or practice.[42] Tory, for one, did not believe chiropractors to have operated thus far in a professional, scientific manner. They "and all their tribe", he felt, constituted "an infernal nuisance", and should not be allowed to practise on the public.[43] Dean of arts and science, W.A.R. Kerr, echoed the president's sentiments. He described chiropractic as an apparently "excellent get rich quick scheme".[44] "It is appalling", he continued, "to think of these fellows being let loose on the public".[45]

Prior to actually setting the first chiropractic examinations, the university entertained arguments and suggestions both from chiropractors and their supporters, and from licensed members of the medical profession in Alberta.[46] Medical doctors and osteopaths submitted that chiropractors should be compelled, like the osteopaths, to meet ordinary academic requirements for medical doctors in addition to specific qualifications appropriate to their specialized form of work.[47]

The chiropractors objected vehemently to this stand. Claiming that the conduct of their profession did not require preparation equivalent to that of medical doctors, they expressed the fear that, in subjecting themselves to university educational standards, they would be placing themselves "at least indirectly under the thumb of of the Medical Association".[48] Such a move was seen as the potential "death knell of chiropractic in Alberta".[49]

From the outset of this controversy, Tory favored the position of the medical doctors and osteopaths over that of the chiropractors. Describing the speeches of the chiropractors as "more suited to a political meeting than to a body considering scientific knowledge", Tory soundly rejected the chiropractors' requests to be examined by a board of chiropractors.[50] "I personally could not conceive", he said, "of the province of Alberta going back upon the stand it had taken during the last ten years in connection with the professional examinations, namely that of subordinating the professional interest to the public interest through an examining board appointed by a body acting for the public".[51] "I am firmly convinced", he added, "that it would be a crime against the public to allow these men to practise in the province without passing a proper examination in the essential subjects".[52]

At Tory's suggestion, the university demanded that chiropractic candidates in 1920 pass the examinations required of medical doctors, with the exception of medicine and surgery, and, in addition, a special section on chiropractic.[53] The majority of chiropractors in the province reacted to Tory's stand by boycotting the university examinations altogether.[54] Of twenty-two original applicants for licensing in 1920, only two actually appeared to write the examination.[55] And even these two decided not to complete the examination when their requests to be evaluated by a board of chiropractors was refused. Complaints were subsequently lodged charging "inconsistency and unfairness on the part of the Senate" in the choice of examination subjects and examiners, and in the type of standards established for recognition of chiropractic schools elsewhere.[56]

In the wake of the 1920 examination controversy, the entire issue of chiropractic standards was turned back to the legislature. The government, apparently hoping to placate the chiropractors while still retaining the university as a determining force in the licensing of chiropractors, proposed, without the university's knowledge or consultation, that one year certificates to practise chiropractic be issued to graduates of chiropractic schools accredited by the University of Alberta.[57]

Such a scheme was evidently not considered sufficient by Tory and his administrative colleagues to ensure a suitable level of scientific knowledge and competence on the part of chiropractors. The Senate did not want to commit itself to the recognition of chiropractic schools elsewhere.[58] Rather, the university seemed to want to play a direct rôle in deciding the content of chiropractic examinations.

Following further consultation between a Senate committee on chiropractic legislation and representatives of the provincial attorney general's department, provincial legislation was passed creating new standards of evaluation for chiropractors. Applicants for licenses were henceforth required first to pass such examinations as set by the university as minimal entrance requirements for medicine, or to have attained equal standing elsewhere.[59] An advisory board of examiners was established to examine candidates in subjects prescribed by the university.[60]

This solution may not have provided for as much scientific training as Tory would have liked, as a prerequisite for attaining a chiropractor's licence. However, through the revision of provincial legislation in response to its concerns, the university succeeded, in this field as in others, in asserting a substantial measure of authority over standards of admission and training.

d) Commerce, pharmacy and law

In the areas of commerce, pharmacy and law, as in medicine, the 1920's witnessed further progress towards the fulfillment of Tory's educational plans. The president's aim to establish a school of commerce at the university was fully realized in 1921 with the decision of the university Senate to implement a bachelor of commerce program within the faculty of arts and science.[61]

In pharmacy, too, the university made progress towards a longer and more comprehensive course of studies during the post-war years. In 1919, the one year diploma program was extended to two years while, by the late 1920's, a four year university program was offered. In accordance with Tory's idealistic view of education, the university sought to eliminate the dominant spirit of materialism and commercialism allegedly prevalent in the pharmacy profession.[62]

Relations between the University of Alberta and the Alberta Pharmacists Association continued after, as before, the war to be mutually friendly and cooperative. To illustrate, an amendment was passed to the provincial Pharmacy Act in 1926 without the consultation, and in opposition to the wishes, of the university. On this occasion, the Alberta Pharmacists Association sided strongly with the university in its claim to a voice in government decision-making regarding pharmacy education in Alberta.[63]

In the field of law, the 1920's saw significant progress towards Tory's ultimate objective of training all provincial lawyers in a centralized, university controlled school. Following his return to the university in 1919, Tory took measures to reorganize the law school and to achieve recognition for the university law program as adequate preparation for provincial bar examination.[64]

As in previous years, the university consulted with lawyers regarding proposed alterations to the structure and curriculum of its law program. The cooperative attitude displayed by the provincial lawyers association towards the university hastened the implementation of Tory's policies.

Beginning in November, 1919, the Board of Governors authorized a committee comprising President Tory, Chancellor Stuart and Board chairman Harvey to confer with provincial lawyers on the subject of improving law studies at the university.[65] The result of these consultations was an agreement satisfactory to both the university and the lawyers regarding the reorganization of the University of Alberta law school. Henceforth, according to new provincial legislation, provincial law societies were compelled to enroll graduates of the university law faculty who had articled for one year.[66] The university law program thus became a legitimate and, more than ever, acceptable alternative to the apprenticeship system as a form of legal training in Alberta.

Representatives of provincial lawyers' associations were also included during the 1920's in discussion relating to the university's law school curriculum.[67] In a further gesture of cooperation with practising lawyers, the university Senate invited a number of provincial lawyers to serve on an advisory committee to the faculty of law. Created in May, 1922, this committee was assigned to submit its views to the Senate on all matters affecting the faculty of law.[68]

Throughout the 1920's, efforts were made to expand the proportion of provincial lawyers trained at the university relative to those licensed in other ways. Having once achieved recognition for the role of the university in teaching law, the university continued its quest to compel all provincial law students to attend the University of Alberta on a fulltime, intramural basis. It was Tory's view that, "we should strive to bring all the students to take a regular course of study free from other work ...".[69] "We are taking the view", he added, "that there is no more reason why students in law should be freed from university courses than students in any other profession ...".[70]

Throughout the 1920's, the university earned increasing credibility and popular support for its role in legal education in Alberta. From its first year of operation, the law school attracted more students than did existing apprenticeship programs.[71] By 1926, only a few law students had registered for bar examinations without having first taken university training in law.[72]

In a further indication of widespread support for Tory's concept of a strong academic component in legal training, the provincial government, with the approval of the provincial law society, amended the Legal Profession Act in 1926 to make two years of an arts degree program a compulsory prerequisite to legal training in the University of Alberta.[73] Indicative of the support of law students in general for this measure was the fact that, even before the amended Legal Profession Act went into effect, the majority of students entering law had first attained the equivalent of three years standing in an arts and science program.[74]

Tory's plans for legal education in Alberta were further enhanced by the continued failure of efforts to decentralize this field of education in Alberta. A petition from the Calgary Board of Trade in 1923, seeking to revive law lectures previously halted in Calgary, was rejected by the university Senate. In the view of the Senate, such a plan was a retrogressive step in the university's ultimate plan to build a consolidated, centralized law faculty.[75]

e) Teacher education

The subject of teacher education was revived at the University of Alberta in the early 1920's, following a wartime moratorium on this issue. The chief obstacle to the establishment of university control of teacher education remained, as in earlier years, the attitude of the provincial department of education. In fact, more than ever during the latter war and immediate post-war years, this department sought to consolidate its influence over teacher training.

During Tory's absence with the Khaki University, measures were proposed by the ministry of education which, if successfully executed, would have greatly jeopardized Tory's plans for university controlled teacher education in the province. It was the aim of then education minister, J.R. Boyle, to establish a college of education under the direction of G.F. McNally, the deputy minister of education.[76]

How far Boyle's plans would have proceeded had he remained education minister is uncertain. His replacement by George Smith as minister of education under the Stewart government in 1918 marked a temporary reprieve for the university from government efforts to control teacher education. Smith chose to delay consideration of the college of education proposal for at least a year, pending his greater familiarization with all aspects of this issue.[77]

According to acting university president Kerr, however, Smith, like his predecessor, seemed to favor continued government authority over teacher education. In Kerr's view, Smith appeared afraid of losing control of high school teacher training.[78] By the time the matter was revived by the government, however, Tory had returned to the university, ready to take up the cudgels against any proposal for government authority over teacher education.

Upon notification of the intent of the department of education to revive the subject of a college of education in 1919, Tory countered by creating plans for a university operated school of education.[79] In accordance with his usual custom of seeking information and advice from as many sources as possible on an issue, Tory circulated a questionnaire among North American universities regarding the aims and structures of their teacher education programs.[80] He specifically posed the question of the validity of university as opposed to government control of teacher education.[81]

Responses to Tory's questionnaire reinforced his belief in the superiority of university authority over teacher education, and gave him ammunition for his battle with provincial government officials over this issue. He was informed by representatives from a number of prominent American universities that universities, not governments, should be responsible for teacher education.[82]

Tory did not have immediate occasion to marshall his arguments concerning teacher education. For the duration of the Stewart administration, provincial officials refrained from concrete measures to create a government college of education.[83]

Following the takeover of government by the United Farmers of Alberta, the University of Alberta canvassed the new government for support of the concept of an education degree. As approved by the Senate in 1922, this degree was to be attained through two years of graduate studies in the faculty of arts and science.[84] Strong, assistance was received for this proposal from provincial teachers' organizations. The teachers were simultaneously lobbying the university and the government for a university school of education.[85]

In response to growing pressure from the university and such organizations as the Alberta Teachers Alliance, the provincial department of education convened a special conference on the subject of the professional preparation of high school teachers in 1924.[86] Delegates to the conference, including members of the Alberta Teachers Alliance, the University of Alberta and the provincial department of education, were asked to consider three alternative methods of teacher training. These included the creation of a university faculty of education, the upgrading of an existing normal school, and the foundation of a government-run college of education.[87]

Provincial government authorities emerged from the 1924 conference committed to the concept of a government college of education.[88] Until such an institution could be established, however, it was decided to develop an expanded normal school program.[89]

In the wake of this disappointing stand by the government, neither the university nor provincial teachers' organizations were prepared to abandon their efforts to attain a university school of education. On the basis of a lengthy report prepared by a committee of the arts and science faculty, the university Senate approached the government again in early 1928 to urge the development of an education degree program.[90] In support of an expanded university role in teacher education, the Alberta Teachers Alliance and a number of other teachers' organizations also continued to pressure the government during the mid and late 1920's. An Alberta Teachers Alliance resolution submitted to the minister of education in 1927 sought a combined arts and education degree, while a newly formed organization, the Edmonton Society of Education, requested the establishment of a five year education degree, also in 1927.[91] Students contemplating careers as teachers added their voices to the demands for university teacher education programs.[92]

Among the reasons cited by teachers for support of a university teaching program was the desire to be recognized as professionals in their own right.[93] Implicit in this rationale was the belief, long nurtured by Tory, that the university should be the body responsible for professional training in Alberta.

From 1924 to 1928, no positive response was received to requests for a university degree program in teacher education.[94] The persistence of efforts to sway the government was ultimately rewarded, however. The minister of education agreed, at least verbally, in May, 1928, to establish a university school of education.[95]

f) Agriculture

In agricultural education, the immediate post-war years were noteworthy in terms of the university's efforts to overcome renewed challenges to its policy of centralized authority and integration. The main threats to Tory's plans for agricultural education stemmed from uncertainty regarding the role of the university viz-a-viz the provincial agricultural schools and the provincial department of agriculture.

On the question of the university's links to agricultural schools in Alberta, the feeling had intensified among university officials during the war years that the government lacked interest and commitment to the university's agricultural faculty in comparison to the provincial schools of agriculture.[96] Such a development was considered particularly objectionable since, in the view of university faculty members, the agricultural schools were failing to provide the training for which they were intended.[97]

By producing allegedly ill-qualified graduates, the agricultural schools were thought to be lowering the standards of achievement in those occupation filled by its graduates, and also to be reducing the academic calibre of the university's agricultural faculty, which obtained its students from the provincial schools.[98] Another disturbing phenomenon, in the view of university administrators, was the apparent intention of the agricultural schools to usurp the functions of the university, particularly in the field of agricultural research.[99]

In a report commissioned by Tory upon his return to the university in 1919, agriculture dean Howes stated that the agricultural schools were encroaching on the legitimate functions of the university both in their "overcrowded" curricula and in their research projects.[100] In order to curb what he saw as the unnecessary and unproductive growth of the agriculture schools, Howes proposed that complete control of higher agricultural education in Alberta be vested in the province's most senior institution, in other words, the university.[101]

The university's criticisms of provincial agricultural schools were not greeted favorably by the public or government. The prevailing attitude, particularly among the rural population and officials of the department of agriculture, was that Alberta's agricultural schools should be protected and expanded, even at the expense of further development at the University of Alberta.[102] There was a widespread feeling that technically oriented schools were superior to theoretical agricultural faculties.[103] Even the Ontario Agricultural College, which was physically separate from the provincial university in Ontario, was described as a "wasteful" and "decadent" institution.[104] The concept of a university faculty of agriculture was seen as, "surely something one degree more reactionary than ... the set-up in Ontario".[105]

The change in provincial government in mid-1921 did not result, at least initially, in a more favorable attitude towards the University of Alberta's agricultural faculty. If anything, the threat to the growth of the university's program appeared more acute than ever, since the basis for the United Farmers of

Alberta's support was largely among the rural population, the sector most likely to support practical, as opposed to theoretical, agricultural education.

The movement to limit university control of agricultural education gained momentum throughout 1921, and climaxed in early 1922 in the publication of a manifesto to the provincial legislature. This document, signed by three southern Alberta farmers, requested that the existing university agriculture faculty be removed from the authority of university officials, and placed, along with the technical agriculture schools, directly under the control of the minister of agriculture.[106] The response of the U.F.A. dominated legislature to the manifesto was cause for grave concern among university officials. Rather than upholding the principle of university control over the agriculture faculty, for which Tory and his colleagues had fought so vigorously in earlier years, the government gave serious credence to the proposal to remove responsibility for the agricultural faculty from the university.[107]

In response to the manifesto, university administrators, staff and students joined forces to convert members of the legislature to their view. Tory, for instance, made a lengthy, impassioned appeal to the government to resist moves to separate the agricultural faculty administration from the rest of the university. "Excuse my ardor", he stated, in defending the principle of centralized university control of agricultural education, "but I've put thirteen years of manhood into this thing. I can't speak without emotion about an act of segregation which will ruin the work so far".[108] Howes, too, prepared a memorandum regarding the merits of integrating agriculture into the mainstream of university life. Admitting that he had not expressed such a view prior to 1915, Howes emphasized his current belief that contact between agricultural professors and students and their counterparts in other fields was mutually beneficial.[109]

Howes' views were echoed by a delegation of representatives from the faculties of arts and science, applied science, medicine and law. The academic staff endeavored to show, in a letter to the provincial government, how the joint administration of agriculture and other faculties was beneficial to their own, as well as to the agriculture, faculties.[110] The proposal to transfer authority over the agricultural faculty to the government would, they predicted, "lead, as is proven by universal experience, to inevitable feuds between the two student bodies and - granting all goodwill - to constant administrative difficulties of an embarrassing nature for those in control".[111] University of Alberta students, as well as staff, published articles and actively lobbied members of the legislature in defense of the existing system of integrated agricultural education.[112]

The U.F.A. government remained closely divided on the issue of agricultural education throughout early 1922. Debate proceeded to a point where the cabinet was evenly split on the issue, with the exception of one unnamed minister, who remained undecided.[113] Having consulted agriculture dean Howes on this matter, the minister in question was persuaded to side with the university in breaking the cabinet deadlock.[114] Howes was promised that the university would "not be troubled further" by attempts to remove the agricultural faculty from its jurisdiction.[115]

Once having decided to support the notion of a single university agricultural faculty, the Greenfield administration refrained from further criticism of the university's plans for centralized agricultural training. In an evident reference to the debates sparked by the manifesto issue, the premier assured Tory in July, 1922, of his desire to avoid repeating "last winter's affair".[116] Never again, the premier vowed, would the government interfere in such a manner with the policies and operations of the university.[117]

The premier kept his word in this respect. According to H.R. Thornton, a graduate in agriculture and later a professor at the University of Alberta, "the upshot of the (1922) winter's concerted efforts was a resounding rejection of the whole idea of separation with such positiveness that the issue has never again arisen".[118]

Following the 1922 manifesto issue, the government conceded to the university on a number of other agricultural education issues. For instance, the university's request for a four year degree program was finally implemented, after a period of three years in which the government had disapproved such a step.[119] As well, an accord was reached between the university and the provincial department of agriculture regarding the distribution of responsibility for such activities as agricultural production, marketing and research in the province.

With the aim of forging a closer relationship between the provincial agriculture department and the university field husbandry department, the Alberta Crop Improvement Association was formed.[120] Within this organization, the university professors were held responsible for seed production and research work, while the provincial agricultural officials were assigned the tasks of marketing seed produced at the university.[121] In accordance with Tory's ideal of university leadership, the university was given the role most conducive to shaping agricultural development in Alberta. The government agricultural department was relegated to functions of a more routine, administrative character.

Not only did the government prove increasingly amenable after 1922 to Tory's ideal of university control of agricultural education in Alberta. Among the public as well, there appeared to be a growing acceptance of a dominant university role in agricultural instruction in the province. This trend was similar to that experienced in other professional fields. As in the case of other professions, the university itself contributed greatly to public approval of its role by involving farmers in its programs, and by visibly responding to the practical needs and demands of these people.

The agricultural faculty participated, for instance, in experiments to alleviate major problems, such as wheat rust and pest control, which faced provincial farmers during the 1920's.[122] As a means of combatting the serious problem of soil erosion in southern Alberta, the university took the initiative to form the first soil science department in a Canadian university.[123] Experimental dairy work was carried out around the province throughout the 1920's,[124] while, in response to requests from the Alberta Seed Growers Association, efforts were made to obtain sufficient provincial funds to hire a plant pathologist at the university.[125]

A further example of practical cooperation with provincial farmers was the work of the Alberta Crop Improvement Association, earlier mentioned in connection with the work of the field husbandry department of the university. Formed in 1921, this association was specifically designed to link the theoretical work of the university in the fields of crop improvement and breeding with the practical activities of farming in Alberta.[126] Over 1500 provincial farmers participated in 1921 in experiments conducted by this body.[127] Their involvement was proof of a high degree of cooperation between the public and the agricultural faculty.

In addition to its usefulness in solving specific problems, and hence increasing the material production of agriculture in Alberta, the university's agricultural faculty was viewed, by the early 1920's, as a potentially key component in a comprehensive plan to enhance social and economic progress throughout the province. On the premise that the prosperity of Alberta was dependent upon the "full exploitation of agriculture", a scheme was considered by university officials to amalgamate all provincial bodies involved in agriculture. The purpose of this unified body was to promote social and economic development in the province.[128] Under the heading of economics, it was proposed to establish demonstration farms to improve agricultural conditions in Alberta. Under the banner of social policies, it was suggested that immigration be controlled in such a way as to attract and assimilate more, and better, immigrants into Alberta society.[129]

In accordance with Tory's concept of university leadership in the community at large, the University of Alberta was intended to assume a determining voice in the formulation and implementation of this long-range provincial development plan. As in the breakdown of duties between the provincial department of agriculture and the university faculty of agriculture, the university was expected to assume authority for teaching and research work, in both the social and economic fields of provincial development.[130] The provincial government was not to create, but rather merely to implement, the policies proposed by the university.[131]

Such a complex and far-reaching plan for economic and social growth proved beyond either the capacity or desire of the university administration and government to implement during the 1920's. Even in its planning stages, however, it conformed to Tory's intention, firstly, to integrate the activities of all university faculties in such a way as to promote the welfare of all Albertans and, secondly, to ensure that the academic, rather than business or political sectors, would lead in the development of the province.

g) Extension

Throughout the 1920's, the extension department remained a prominent part of the University of Alberta. Its aims remained essentially the same as at the time of its foundation. It continued to attempt "to make the boundaries of the University of Alberta coterminous with the province", and to mobilize "the great latent resources which exist in almost every community".[132]

As in previous years, the extension department intended to educate the public as to the usefulness of knowledge in general and to Tory's philosophy of education in particular. By interpreting, "to the community at large the results of research and investigations being carried on in their behalf", and by showing "how this information can be applied to the practical problems of life", the extension department continued to seek public support for the university as a whole.[133] Specific ideals which the department hoped to imbue among Albertans after the war included "a keener national sentiment, a deeper appreciation of the duties of citizenship, as well as its privileges, a broader intellectual and spiritual culture and a greater efficiency of the individual".[134]

As a means of achieving its aims, the extension department sought primarily to expand programs begun in previous years. In this field, as in the majority of professional programs, public opinion favored, and even encouraged, the growth of university activities. In fact, so great was the degree of public sympathy for the goals of the extension department that the provincial government considered it impolitic, even in the face of adverse financial circumstances in 1921, to seek a reduction in expenditures by that sector of the university.[135]

The travelling and open shelf book libraries were enlarged in proportion to their growing popularity, while the numbers of available debating packets, moving pictures and lantern slides were also increased throughout the 1920's. The extension department further expanded, not only the number, but the format of its lecture programs in response to public demands, and in conformity with Tory's original concept of the department's role. In addition to a growing number of individual lectures on a variety of subjects, the department introduced series of tutorial study groups, somewhat along the lines proposed by the Workers Educational Association in the early 1900's. Beginning in 1922, for instance, non-credit extension courses in "Economic Principles and Institutions" were conducted in conjunction with the provincial labor department and the Edmonton and Calgary Trades and Labor Councils.[136] In subsequent years, additional courses in such subjects as history, political economy and cooperative grain marketing were instituted at the behest of farm and labor groups, and the Young Mens' and Young

Women's Christian Associations.[137]

The extension department consciously extended its services during the 1920's to cover areas and groups of people who might otherwise have little or no contact with higher education or the university in particular. Special efforts were made to provide lectures and other services to residents in remote regions of the province, even where this meant hosting smaller audiences than could be gathered at one time in larger, less isolated communities. The use of radio beginning in 1925 assisted in this aim.[138]

Commencing in 1925, lectures were also delivered to groups such as urban underprivileged boys with whom the university wished to develop a closer rapport. A program of twenty-two lectures was even provided for one year, in 1925, to prisoners at the Fort Saskatchewan Gaol.[139] In an indication of the extension department's philosophy of integrating practical and theoretical, general and academic subjects, the lecture series offered at the gaol included an eclectic mixture of topics, including soil erosion, evolution, venereal disease, and Canadian history.[140]

Particularly important in the growth of extension activities after, as during, the war were the efforts of the extension department to cultivate cooperative links with the United Farm Womens' Association of Alberta. Tory and a number of his colleagues, particularly W.H. Alexander and librarian, Jesse Montgomery, displayed strong support for the farm women's group in its efforts to enhance rural educational opportunities in Alberta.[141] In addition to sponsoring annual Farm Young People's Weeks, the university supported rural school fairs and adult study groups, and helped to organize farm resources in such a way as to assist in the advancement of the agricultural movement in Alberta.[142]

The university's efforts to aid the United Farm Womens' Association were rewarded in terms of an increasing tendency on the part of rural Albertans to turn to the extension department for advice and assistance. UFWA locals urged their members to make use of university extension services, and their members responded faithfully.[143] Especially advantageous to Tory in his attempts to make the university the central authority over education in Alberta was the growing tendancy of farm movement members to consult the university rather than to initiate independent programs when they felt in need of educational information and assistance.[144]

h) Scientific and Industrial Research Council of Alberta

A major innovation to the University of Alberta during the post-war decade was the foundation of the Scientific and Industrial Research Council of Alberta (SIRCA). Through this organization, Tory realized his ambition for a greater university role in scientific research, particularly research related to practical problems facing Alberta society. Although founded jointly by the university and the provincial government, the SIRCA was amenable in structure to Tory's aim for extensive university authority.

While provincially funded, the SIRCA was to be influenced more in its formation and operations by acadmmic staff at the university than by government representatives.

Concrete measures towards the foundation of a provincial scientific and industrial research organization were first instituted in Alberta during Tory's absence in 1918 and 1919. However, upon his return, Tory proved instrumental in shaping the structure and objectives of the SIRCA. It was as a result of his influence that the university acquired a large measure of control in the direction and operation of this body.

The notion of a research organization within the university had occurred to Tory even prior to his departure to the Khaki University. In addition to his efforts to promote research projects within individual university departments, the president had tried, during the war, the create a research body comprising professors from all science department. To this end, he had summoned all members of the science staff to a meeting in January, 1917.[145]

As well, from mid-1916 to early 1917, plans were laid for the acquisition of laboratory equipment and for the organization of research professors "as a unit to prepare a bibliography to fill in gaps between related subjects" in the field of applied science.[146] That nothing substantial arose from Tory's efforts in this regard was likely due to the increasing preoccupation of all members of the faculty with the war effort. Further significant developments in industrial research awaited Tory's return from the Khaki University.

By the time of the president's return, the issue of a research body involving the university had taken on a new complexion, as a result of public and governmental initiatives in applied scientific research. To a greater extent than before the war, pressure was exerted upon the provincial government to finance scientific and industrial research, and thus boost the economic capacity of the province as a whole.[147]

The main sources of this pressure were organized groups of businessmen and muncipal officials who saw great possibilities for lucrative development of Alberta's natural resources. Scientific research was viewed increasingly as a means to overcoming previous obstacles to resource development.

At a conference of the Alberta Union of Municipalities in late 1918, the accomplishments of the federal Honorary Advisory Council on Scientific and Industrial Research (HACSIR) were mentioned as evidence of the value of a scientific research organization to business interests.[148] Significantly, however, the HACSIR was not seen as adequate to fulfill the specific industrial needs of Alberta.[149] The perceived lack of a comparable organization serving the industrial research requirements of western Canada sparked a call by the Alberta Union of Municipalities representatives for a provincially sponsored bureau of scientific and industrial research to assist entrepreneurs in resource development in Alberta.[150]

Significant, in terms of promoting Tory's ideal of a strong university role in scientific research, was the widespread public appreciation in the post-war years of the potential university role in industrial research in Alberta. One of the leading proponents of economic development in southern Alberta, Dr. Oliver Boyd, went so far as to propose that the University of Alberta control the research organization suggested by the Alberta Union of Municipalities.[151]

A number of concrete measures concerning scientific and industrial research resulted from the post-war conferences on this subject. For one thing, an ongoing organization, the Alberta Industrial Development Association was created by interested businessmen and other citizens to investigate and publicize possibilities for research and development in Alberta.[152] As well, the provincial government responded to public pressure to create an advisory council on research.[153] Formed in February, 1919, this body comprised representatives from the business, academic and government sectors of Alberta. Chaired by the minister of municipalities, and later by the provincial secretary, this body was assigned to formulate specific proposals for research projects in Alberta.[154] From the university, mining engineering professor N.C. Pitcher, and adting president W.A.R. Kerr were appointed to the advisory council on research. Other members of the university faculty, such as geology professor, J.A. Allan, were consulted on specific matters within their realms of knowledge.[155]

As long as Kerr remained acting president of the university, little was done to assert a dominant university role in provincial research. Kerr did not pursue Dr. Boyd's suggestion, for instance, that the university take control of provincial industrial research. Neither did he appear to try to influence the actions of the government advisory council to a great degree. When he did take a stand on the issue of researchh responsibility, it was to advocate collaboration between a proposed Alberta industrial laboratory and the federal HACSIR rather than the creation of a strong university presence in provincial industrial research.[156]

Tory's return to the University of Alberta marked a transition towards a greater university role in provincial industrial research. Immediately following his return, the university president revived the ideal of a research department within the university. His first move in the direction of founding a research body was to organize a scientific association within the university.[157] Open to all department heads and instructors in scientific departments at the university, as well as other interested and qualified individuals, this body was dedicated to all forms of scientific research.[158]

At the same time that the University of Alberta Science Association was engaged in cataloguing and publicizing Alberta's research problems, Tory set out on a personal quest to secure the necessary funding to launch a sciastific and industrial research department within the university. Initially, he pursued the possibility of funding from the federal HACSIR, But, following a succession of negative experiences with the HACSIR, and contrastingly positive encounters with provincial officials on the issue of research, Tory came to view the provincial government as a preferable source of funding to the HACRSIR.

While the HACSIR seemed initially enthusiastic about sponsoring provincial research projects, conflicts arose between Tory and HACSIR officials as to what projects deserved priority. For example, while Tory perceived tar sands research as an essential and immediately necessary field of investigation, HACSIR authorities rejected specific university proposals for work in this area.[159] And, while plans were made in the field of coal research in 1919 and early 1920 for a joint HACSIR-University of Alberta fuels research board, progress towards the actual operation of such a board lagged during 1920. This delay prejudiced Tory against further efforts to collaborate with the federal research agency.[160]

At the same time that he was experiencing difficulties in obtaining funding on his own terms from HACSIR, Tory succeeded in interesting provincial officials to an increasing degree in his proposals for university research projects. As a member of the provincial advisory council on industrial research following his return from overseas, Tory exploited every available opportunity to persuade the government and public alike of the benefits of university controlled scientific and industrial research. He was aided in this task by the favorable attitude of J.G. Cote, provincial secretary and, beginning in the summer of 1919, chairman of the provincial advisory council on research. Following the October, 1919, meeting of the advisory council, the university president was commissioned by Cote to tour a number of Canadian and American institutions involved in coal mining and clay research.[161] Tory's objectives were to report on the structure and activities of these institutions, and to suggest means of enhancing the provincial government's involvement in research operations.[162]

After visiting prominent research stations in Ottawa, Washington, D.C., Pittsburgh, and Ohio, Tory submitted a report recommending the establishment of a fully equipped provincial laboratory and the appointment of an executive government official to head a provincial mining research department.[163] He commented particularly favorably on the structure of a research institute in Ohio, in which the American government Bureau of Mines sponsored research by the University of Ohio.[164] Implied in his comments regarding the Ohio system was the notion that a similar arrangement should be established in Alberta, with the provincial government in this case financing research by University of Alberta professors.

Tory's proposals for the establishment of a provincial research department were presented at an opportune time, in terms of the climate of public opinion regarding industrial research in Alberta. Through the media of conferences, lectures and written information, the Alberta Industrial Development Association had extensively publicized the benefits of scientific research during 1919.[165] Requests for government assisted research had arisen, meanwhile, from provincial coal companies, which were currently facing severe production problems.

The impact of Tory's recommendations for a research agency, combined with the supportive views of industry and the general public, motivated the Stewart government to authorize creation of an industrial research department within the University of Alberta in Februrary, 1920.[166] In accordance with Tory's suggestions, this body was modelled on the University of Ohio-Bureau of Mines scheme. The government offered to finance the purchase of experimental materials and to pay for the expense of hiring researchers. However, the actual research work was to be conducted in university laboratories by trained academic staff.[167] In conformity with Tory's concept of research priorities, the provincial government promised initially to fund investigations by the industrial research department into methods of extracting and producing coal, building stone and tar sands.[168]

While evidently viewing the industrial research departments as a significant step forward in university-government relations regarding research, Tory sought a restructuring of this organization to permit even greater funding and university control over research. Documentary evidence regarding negotiations betweeen the university and the government on this issue in 1920 is sparse. However, it appears from Tory's isolated comments and the government's actions that the university president was in close and influential contact with provincial secretary Cote and his cabinet colleagues regarding the government's future plans for industrial research. Speaking to an audience of the University of Alberta Science Association in October, 1920, Tory stated that, while research was presently under the direction of a government ministry, he expected that financial support would soon be available for more effective work.[169] Greater efforts, he suggested, would be made by the government in future to provide "equipment, laboratories and other research facilities".[170]

As suggested by Tory, the provincial government expanded its program of research in early 1921. An order-in-council passed on January 6, 1921, inaugurated a new, provincially sponsored research body, entitled the Scientific and Industrial Research Council of Alberta (SIRCA).[171] This proved to be the first provincially sponsored research council in Canada.

That Tory played a substantial role in fostering the establishment of the SIRCA is suggested by the extent to which this organization conformed, in structure and purpose, to the president's goals. The government asserted at the outset of the creation of the SIRCA that cooperation with the university was the most efficient means to successful industrial research in Alberta.[172] The primary purpose of the SIRCA, like that of the university's industrial research department, was to conduct research pertaining directly to economic development in Alberta.[173] Three of the five members of the governing body of the SIRCA were from the University of Alberta, thus giving the university a predominant voice in the affairs of the council. Provincial secretary Cote was named chairman and administrative head of the council. However, Tory, as university president, was appointed director of research, a position more closely related to the actual planning and implementation of research policies.

Once having been firmly established, the SIRCA made steady progress during the 1920's towards Tory's goals for an increasingly strong university presence in industrial research in Alberta. The major thrust of investigations by the council remained, throughout its initial decade, the topics of fuels research, road materials, and geological surveys. As in the pre-1921 period, industrial experiments focussed chiefly on coal analysis, classification and production, and tar sands extraction and processing.[174]

Contributing to the growth of the council's operations were the primarily favorable attitudes of public and government towards this body's aims and accomplishments. Initially following the election of the UFA government in 1921, there was some speculation that the work of the council would suffer. A letter from a University of Alberta faculty member to Tory in August, 1921, expressed regret, for instance, at the apparently imminent termination of council operations.[175] As well, almost immediately after his election, Premier Greenfield warned Tory of the need to limit research expenditures in accordance with overall provincial economic retrenchment plans.[176]

However, despite these early suggestions of impending government restrictions on the SIRCA, the Greenfield administration demonstrated substantial respect and appreciation on the whole for the work of this organization. Tory reported in November, 1921, for instance, that the council was currently receiving solid government backing.[177]

Among the public at large, the SIRCA did encounter occasional and somewhat bitter criticism of its policies. The source of hostility was, in most cases, individuals who disliked the implications of the council's work upon the viability of their own enterprises. For example, among the most vociferous opponents of the council were the operator of a tar sands deposit who felt that the effect of the SIRCA's investigations was to discourage, rather than attract, investment in provincial tar sands development, and a coal producer who feared that the classification system developed by the council would result in lower prices for his coal.[178] The majority of public responses to the council's efforts were positive, however, as attested to by an inreasing volume of requrests for its assistance and praise for its work during the 1920's.[179]

NOTES TO CHAPTER 7

1. H.M. Tory, "Memorandum regarding the subject of a Junior College in Calgary", (1925), Tory papers, RG 3, f. 903-6, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

2. J.R. Kidd, "A Study of the Influence of Dr. H.M. Tory on educational policy in Canada" (M.A. dissertation University, 1944), p. 84.

3. University of Alberta Senate Minutes, 11 May 1921, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

4. University of Alberta Senate Minutes, 12 May 1920, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

5. H.M. Tory to Edward Shann, vice-chancellor, University of Western Australia, 8 January 1923, Tory papers, RG 3, f. 1101-2a(A), UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

6. University of Alberta Senate Minutes, 15 December 1918.

7. W.A.R. Kerr, Dean of Arts and Science, to Charles Stewart, Premier of Alberta, 22 October 1918, Tory papers, RG 3, f. 1501-B, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

8. Carl Betke, "The United Farmers of Alberta, 1921-1935: the relationship between the agricultural organization and the government of Alberta." (M.A. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1971), p. 66.

9. The Trail, 8: (November, 1923): 6.

10. Ruth Bowen, notes on J.M. MacEachran, Ruth Bowen papers, f. 79-112-11, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

11. Ibid.

12. H.M. Tory, "Memorandum regarding the subject of a Junior College in Calgary", (1925).

13. Ibid.

14. University of Alberta Senate Minutes, 15 May 1923, and 12 May 1927.

15. University of Alberta Senate Minutes, 15 May 1923.

16. University of Alberta Senate Minutes, 14 March 1925.

17. Ibid; The Trail, 1923, no. 8, pp. 4-6.

18. Robin S. Harris, A History of Higher Education in Canada, 1663-1960 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), p. 269.

19. University of Alberta Senate Minutes, 12 May 1927.

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid.

22. Robin Harris, History of Higher Education, p. 269.

23. H.M. Tory to Edward Shann, 8 January 1923, Tory papers, RG 3, f. 1101-2a(A), UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

24. Ibid.

25. University of Alberta Senate Minutes, 11 May 1922.

26. Ibid.

27. John W. Scott, The History of the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Alberta, 1913-1963 (Edmonton: University of Alberta, 1963), p. 11; University of Alberta Senate Minutes, 25 November 1921.

28. University of Alberta Senate Minutes, 12 May 1920.

29. University of Alberta Senate Minutes, 7 November 1919.

30. University of Alberta Board of Governors Minutes, 12 May 1921.

31. H.M. Tory, "Going West", autobiographical notes, MG 30, Vol. 29, PAC, Ottawa, Ontario, p. 55.

32. University of Alberta Senate Minutes, 12 May 1922.

33. J.R. Kidd, "H.M. Tory", p. 88.

34. University of Alberta Board of Governors Annual Report for 1924, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

35. Robert Newton, "I Passed This Way: 1889-1964", unpublished memoirs, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta, pp. 284-5.

36. University of Alberta Senate Minutes, 14 May 1924.

37. University of Alberta Senate Minutes, 14 May 1925.

38. George Dyck, "A Visit to a Chiropractic School", reprint from the Journal of the American Medical Association, 78 (January

7, 1923): 60-63, quoted in Tory papers, RG 3, f. 906-4a, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

39. Ibid.

40. H.M. Tory to F.G. Watson, of the Worthington Clinic, Worthington, Minnesota, 11 March 1921, Tory papers, RG 3, f. 906-4a, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

41. University of Alberta Senate Minutes, 29 October 1920.

42. University of Alberta Senate Minutes, 7 November 1919.

43. H.M. Tory to Walter C. Murray, President of the University of Saskatchewan, 19 October 1917, Tory papers, RG 3, f. 902-3dB, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

44. W.A.R. Kerr to Dr. C.H. Smythe, of Medicine Hat, 31 July 1922, Tory papers, RG 3, f. 906-4a, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

45. Ibid.

46. University of Alberta Senate Minutes, 12 May 1920.

47. Ibid.

48. C.E. Messenger, secretary of the Alberta Chiropractors Association, to the University of Alberta Dean, 19 January 1920, Tory papers, RG 3, f. 906-4c, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

49. Ibid.

50. H.M. Tory to George Smith, Minister of Education, 19 June 1920, Tory papers, RG 3, f. 906-4b, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

51. Ibid.

52. Ibid.

53. Ibid.

54. Ibid.

55. University of Alberta Senate Minutes, 11 May 1922.

56. University of Alberta Senate Minutes, 29 October 1920.

57. H.M. Tory to W.M. Davidson, editor of the Calgary Albertan, 5 May 1922, Tory papers, RG 3, f. 906-4b, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

58. University of Alberta Senate Minutes, 11 May 1922.

59. Statutes of Alberta, An Act to regulate the Practice of Chiropractic, Chapter 58, 1923.

60. Ibid.

61. University of Alberta Senate Minutes, 11 May 1922.

62. Ibid.

63. University of Alberta Senate Minutes, 13 May 1926.

64. H.M. Tory to W. Kent Power, University of Alberta law instructor, 28 August 1919, Tory papers, RG 3, f. 503-B, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

65. University of Alberta Board of Governors Minutes, 16 November 1919.

66. University of Alberta Board of Governors Annual Report for 1924, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

67. University of Alberta Senate Minutes, 15 May 1923.

68. University of Alberta Senate Minutes, 11 May 1922.

69. H.M. Tory to W.H. Sellar, 28 July 1923, Tory papers, RG 3, f. 503-B, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

70. Ibid.

71. University of Alberta Board of Governors Annual Report for 1926, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

72. Ibid.

73. University of Alberta Senate Minutes, 13 May 1926.

74. By 1926, seventy-five percent of the University of Alberta law students had undertaken three or more years of study in the faculty of arts and science prior to enrolling in law, University of Alberta Board of Governors Annual Report for 1926.

75. University of Alberta Senate Minutes, 15 May 1923.

76. H.M. Tory to W.A.R. Kerr, 22 October 1918, Tory papers, RG 3, f. 1407-3, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

77. Ibid.

78. W.A.R. Kerr to H.M. Tory, 23 December 1918, Tory papers, RG 3, f. 1407-3, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

79. Donald M. Myrehaug, "M.E. Lazerte: Contributions to Teacher Education in Alberta" (M.Ed. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1972), p. 36.

80. Universities consulted by Tory included Harvard, Yale, Berkeley, North Dakota, South Dakota, Michigan, Montana, West Virginia, Utah, Ohio, Oklahoma, Washington, Nevada, Wyoming, Idaho, Minnesota, Iowa, and Vermont, H.M. Tory, 9 April 1920, Tory papers, RG 3, f. 502-1, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

81. Ibid.

82. Following is a sample of replies to Tory regarding the concept of university control over teacher education: (1) "It is our judgment based on experience that this manner of dealing with the matter is the only satisfactory manner of doing so", Robert L. Slagle, President of the University of South Dakota, 24 April 1920, (2) "... control of our School of Education by the State Department of Education would be impracticable", Thomas Kane, President of the University of North Dakota, 14 April 1920, (3) "... the preparation of teachers is a function of the university and should be under the university's control", David Burrows, President of the University of California, 15 April 1920. All of the above are contained in the Tory papers, RG 3, f. 502-1, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

83. Donald Myrehaug, "M.E. Lazerte", p. 37.

84. University of Alberta Senate Minutes, 11 May 1922.

85. Donald Myrehaug, "M.E. Lazerte", pp. 38-39.

86. Ibid., p. 40.

87. Ibid., p. 41.

88. Ibid., p. 43.

89. Ibid.

90. University of Alberta Senate Minutes, 28 Feburary 1928.

91. Donald Myrehaug, "M.E. Lazerte", p. 47.

92. Ibid.

93. Ibid.

94. W.A.R. Kerr to Robert C. Wallace, University of Alberta president after 1928, 18 July 1928, Wallace papers, RG 3, f. 3/2/4/6-1, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

95. Donald Myrehaug, "M.E. Lazerte", p. 47.

96. R.D. Sinclair, "The First Thirty Years", Department of Agriculture office files, RG 40, f. 76-25-338, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

97. Ernest Howes to H.M. Tory, 25 March 1920, Tory papers, RG 3, f. 501-1, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

98. Ibid.

99. Ibid.

100. Ibid.

101. Ibid.

102. R.D. Sinclair, "The First Thirty Years".

103. Ibid.

104. Ibid.

105. Ibid.

106. Ibid.

107. Ibid.

108. H.M. Tory to Perren Baker, 13 February 1922, Tory papers, RG 3, f. 903-1c, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

109. R.D. Sinclair, "The First Thirty Years".

110. Memorandum by members of the faculties of arts and science, applied science, medicine and law, 22 February 1922, Dean of Arts papers, RG 41, f. 41/1/13/2-49, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

111. Ibid.

112. H.M. Thornton, "Some Notes on the Early History of the Faculty of Agriculture", Department of Agriculture office files, RG 40, f. 76-25-336, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

113. R.D. Sinclair, "The First Thirty Years".

114. Ibid.

115. Ibid.

116. Herbert Greenfield, Premier of Alberta, to H.M. Tory, 26 July 1922, Tory papers, RG 3, f. 501-1, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

117. Ibid.

118. H.R. Thornton, "Some Notes on the Early History of the Faculty of Agriculture".

119. University of Alberta Annual Report for 1924, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta. The government had earlier rejected the notion of high school matriculation as sufficient preparation for a four year agricultural program on the basis that such a scheme would draw a disproportionate number of students to the university as opposed to the provincial agricultural schools, University of Alberta Senate Minutes, 11 May 1922, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

120. Ernest Howes to H.M. Tory, 4 May 1922, Tory papers, RG 3, f. 501-1, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

121. Ibid.

122. University of Alberta Senate Minutes, 14 May 1924, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

123. John D. Newton, "The Department of Soil Science and the Soil Survey", Memoirs, 1919-1960, f. 73-198, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

124. University of Alberta Senate Minutes, 14 May 1924.

125. University of Alberta Board of Governors Annual Report for 1926.

126. University of Alberta Senate Minutes, 11 May 1921.

127. Ibid.

128. Ernest Howes to H.M. Tory, n.d., Tory papers, RG 3, f. 501-1, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

129. Ibid.

130. Ibid.

131. Ibid.

132. The University of Alberta Press Bulletin, 1 October 1922.

133. Ibid.

134. University of Alberta Department of Extension Annual Report for 1918-19, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

135. The provincial treasurer, asked about the widsom of cutting the university's extension budget in 1921, said that, "I don't think you had better touch that. In a far-off corner of the Province I found the other day a man who said he had one of your libraries down there and it was a great help to that new country. It seems that work is too good to be interfered with, H.M. Tory to Alexander Hill, 14 November 1921, Tory papers, RG 3, f. 902-1f, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

136. University of Alberta Department of Extension Annual Report for 1921-22.

137. University of Alberta Department of Extension Annual Reports, 1921 to 1927.

138. University of Alberta Department of Extension Annual Report for 1925.

140. Ibid.

141. It was following Jessie Montgomery's address to the U.F.W.A. regarding the value of girls' conferences that efforts were made by the latter organization to sponsor an annual youth conference, Jessie Montgomery, address to the U.F.W.A., 1 January 1917, Department of Extension office files (1921-1952), f. 74-23-14, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

142. Barbara V. Cormack, Perennials and Politics: The Life Story of Honorable Irene Parlby, LLD (Sherwood Park: Professional Printing Ltd., (1968)), p. 142; LeRoy Wilson, "Perren Baker", p. 88.

143. Barbara Cormack, Perennials and Politics, pp. 67, 98.

144. LeRoy Wilson, "Perren Baker", p. 219.

145. H.M. Tory to Walter Murray, 28 January 1917, Tory papers, RG 3, f. 902-3dB, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

146. H.M. Tory to Walter Murray, 6 February 1917, Tory papers, RG 3, f. 902-3dB, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

147. W.H. Alexander, The University of Alberta, A Retrospect: 1908-1929 (n.p., n.d.), p. 24.

148. M.A. Brown, "Provincial Industrial Research", Address to the Alberta Union of Municipalities, (October, 1918), Tory papers, RG 3, f. 906-5a, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

149. Ibid.

150. Ibid.

151. Oliver Boyd, of Medicine Hat, to Cecil Race, University of Alberta registrar, 25 January 1919, Tory papers, RG 3, f. 1104-1a, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

152. W.A.R. Kerr to A.B. Macallum, chairman of the HACSIR, 5 February 1919, Tory papers, RG 3, f. 906-5a, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

153. Minutes of the first meeting of the Alberta Industrial Development Association Advisory Committee, 25 May 1919, Tory papers, RG 3, f. 1104-2, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

154. Ibid.

155. Minutes of the second meeting of the Alberta Industrial Development Association Advisory Committee, 27 June 1919, Tory papers, RG 3, f. 1104-2, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

156. W.A.R. Kerr to A.B. MAcallum, 5 February 1919, Tory papers, RG 3, f. 906-5a, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

157. Robert Newton, "I Passed This Way: 1889-1964".

158. First constitution of the University of Alberta Science Association, (1919), Science Assocation papers, 1919-1948, f. 71-133-1, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

159. HACSIR chairman A.B. Macallum disagreed with Tory and his colleagues at the University of Alberta that further studies should be made of the composition of the tar sands. Macallum appeared willing to fund only those investigations dealing with the use of tar sands as a paving material, A.B. Macallum to H.M. Tory, 13 March 1920, Tory papers, RG 3, f. 906-5a, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

160. Tory had called for a meeting of University of Alberta and HACSIR officials in January, 1920, to discuss the formation of a joint fuels research board, Tory to Frank Adams, Dean of Science, McGill University, 13 January 1920, Tory papers, RG 3, f. 902-3c, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta; Due to a lack of response to this call by May 1920, the University of Alberta undertook

the formation of an independent fuels research program, H.M. Tory to A.B. Macallum, 26 May 1920, Tory papers, RG 3, f. 906-5a, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

161. H.M. Tory to J.L. Cote, Provincial Secretary, 21 January 1920, Tory papers, RG 3, f. 1104-2, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

162. Ibid.

163. Minutes of the fourth Alberta Industrial Development Association Advisory Committee meeting, 23 January 1920, Tory papers, RG 3, f. 1104-2, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

164. Ibid.

165. J. Castell Hopkins, ed., The Canadian Annual Review, 1920 (Toronto: The Canadian Annual Review Publishing Company, 1920), p. 446.

166. The Edmonton Journal, 10 February 1920.

167. Ibid.

168. Ibid.

169. Minutes of the Science Association, 5 October 1920, Rare Books materials, f. 69-82-10f, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

170. Ibid.

171. Alberta Order-in-Council 30/21, 6 January 1921, quoted in "Historical Memorandum", 1930, Research Council of Alberta papers, f. 1/2, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

172. Ibid.

173. Ibid.

174. W.H. Alexander, Retrospect, p. 25.

175. Adolf Lehman, University of Alberta instructor, to H.M. Tory, 14 August 1921, Tory papers, RG 3, f. 1501-c, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

176. Herbert Greenfield to H.M. Tory, 18 August 1921, Premiers papers, f. 201, PAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

177. H.M. Tory to P.A. Ross, chairman of HACSIR, 22 November 1921, Tory papers, RG 3, f. 906-5a, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

178. Thomas Draper, tar sands entrepreneur, to Herbert Greenfield,

23 September 1923, Premiers papers, f. 174, PAA, Edmonton, Alberta; Jesse Gouge, coal operator, to Howard Stutchbury, Alberta Trade Commissioner, 18 November 1925, Premiers papers, f. 200, PAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

179. Research Council of Alberta papers, files 1/9B, 1/13, 1/14, 1/15, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

CHAPTER 8

The End of an Era: The Tory Years in Perspective

a) Tory's resignation from the University of Alberta

Given his prominent role thus far in the University of Alberta's development, Tory's decision to resign from his post as president in 1928 represented a crucial milestone in the history of the university. After two decades at the helm of the university, Tory decided to assume a new career, as head of the recently reorganized and enlarged federal Honorary Advisory Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (renamed the National Research Council in 1928). His actions in this regard were not taken on impulse or without due concern for their impact on the University of Alberta. Rather, his departure from the university was based on a growing personal conviction that, for the benefit of himself and Canadians as a whole, his future lay more profitably with the federal research organization than with the Alberta university.

Tory's transition from the leadership of the University of Alberta to the Honorary Advisory Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (HACSIR) began during the early 1920's. After having joined the federal research organization in 1922, he was invited to become the council's honorary president in the following year.[1] Representatives of the University of Alberta faculty, alumni association and other organizations, once informed of the federal offer, tried to convince Tory not to leave his position at the university.[2]

While obviously interested in the work of the HACSIR, Tory himself was not prepared in 1923 to sever his connections with the University of Alberta. An agreement was therefore reached between the president, the federal government and the university's Board of Governors whereby Tory would fulfill his duties as honorary chairman of the HACSIR and still retain his post as university president.[3] He was permitted to take leaves of absence from the university whenever necessary to carry out his responsibilities with the HACSIR.[4]

Once installed as the HACSIR leader, Tory commenced an ambitious program designed to turn that agency into an active, permanent and generously funded public body.[5] Not surprisingly, his efforts in this regard commanded increasing time and energy, and resulted in a growing commitment on his part to the work of the HACSIR.

By 1927, due to his growing accomplishments in managing the HACSIR, Tory faced mounting pressure from his federal research colleagues to assume full-time authority for the federal research agency, by this time destined to acquire permanent laboratory facilities.[6] The following year, Tory made his ultimate decision to accept the federal offer to serve as the first National Research Council president. To facilitate this new role, he resigned from the University of Alberta presidency, effective June 1, 1928.

In many ways, Tory's reasons for giving up his university position to work full-time for the National Research Council resembled his rationale for departing McGill University and joining the University of Alberta more than two decades earlier. His sense of career obligation to the National Research Council lay both in his belief in the necessity of scientific research to the progress of Canada, and in the need of that institution for strong leadership by an individual of his qualifications and experience.

In terms of its prospects for survival and growth, the HACSIR at the outset of the 1920's was somewhat analogous to the University of Alberta two decades earlier. In Alberta in 1906, the question of the validity of a state university had not yet been decided in favor of the university. A forceful assertive personality was thus necessary at the head of the new university to defend that institution's right to exist and expand. Similarly, the HACSIR was in a dubious position at the beginning of the 1920's with regard to its future development. A proposal to grant that organization sufficient funds to hire full-time staff and construct permanent laboratory facilities had been bluntly rejected by the federal Senate as unnecessary.[7] The idea of a national research council was seen by a number of university professors and civil servants as a threat to their own roles in research.[8]

Tory apparently perceived himself as the type of individual necessary to take command of the HACSIR and build it into a secure and effective entity, as he had earlier with the University of Alberta. Regarding his acceptance of the part-time chairmanship of the HACSIR, Tory said simply that, "I had some confidence in my ability to put research work in the country on a firmer foundation".[9]

Before accepting a full-time position with the HACSIR, Tory was obliged to consider the possible effects of his resignation from the University of Alberta upon the further development of that institution. Inasmuch as he had initially assumed the role of university president out of a sense of moral and religious obligation, he was bound to retain that position until his original aims had been fulfilled, or at least until he had given his utmost to the achievement of these goals.

Had the University of Alberta been at the same stage in 1928 as in 1908, in terms of its structure and relationship to the public and government, it is doubtful that Tory would have entertained a suggestion to resign as its president. During the two decades since its inception, however, the university had progressed to the point at which, not only was its existence assured, but, to a large extent, Tory's original objectives had been realized.

As envisioned by the president, the university had assumed a secular character, an integrated academic structure, and a substantial measure of authhrity over higher education in general in Alberta. In accordance with Tory's plans, the university had established, not only a thriving liberal arts program, but a growing number of professional schools and an active extension department. The possibility of future opposition to the policy of centralized university control of education in Alberta had been, if not totally eradicated, at least significantly reduced, during the two decades of Tory's leadership.

With the establishment thus far of an academic structure in conformity with his views and with the alleviation of formerly serious threats to the authority of the university, the task of administering the university was no longer the formidable task that it had been to Tory two decades previously. The university was in a position much as it had been in the latter stages of World War I, in that another administrator could conceivably manage the university in Tory's absence.

In the same way that he had been inspired to relinquish his teaching career at McGill University to take on a role which presented a greater personal challenge and adventure, Tory apparently felt destined to forsake the University of Alberta presidency to undertake the duties of National Research Council president in 1928. The call to the federal research organization, he decided, was more important that that to serve for a longer period as the president of the Alberta university.[10] "I am leaving the university with great regret", he stated, "and only because I believe that the opportunity to serve Canada as a whole justifies my action".[11]

The news of Tory's departure prompted widespread comments of appreciation among Albertans for his work during the previous two decades. Both daily Edmonton newspapers took the opportunity to praise Tory's contributions to higher education in the province. According to the Edmonton Journal, "what (Tory) has accomplished since undertaking the task twenty years ago of organizing the university is, it is safe to say, unparallelled in the history of Canadian education. Under his leadership, the university has developed from small and far from auspicious beginnings, into one of large proportions and the greatest usefulness.... A better combination of broad vision and practical insight is seldom found in one man. Alberta was most fortunate in securing his services and is under an immense debt to him".[12]

b) Assessment of the Tory years

Tory's resignation in 1928 marked the end of the third phase of the university's development under his leadership. It also signalled, in a broader perspective, the close of an era in the evolution of the university. Throughout the period 1908 to 1928, Tory's presence had been an overriding factor in determining the destiny of the university. No individual played a greater role in shaping the academic structure and relations of that institution with successive governments and the public at large.

By deliberately keeping a "finger in every pie" of university activity, Tory succeeded to a large extent in imprinting his philosophy of education on the University of Alberta.[13] In the same way that Harvard University had embodied the ideals of President Eliot in the late nineteenth century, and the University of Chicago came to be known as Harper's University in the early twentieth century, the University of Alberta had come by 1928 to fit the description of "Tory's University".

In accordance with Tory's aims, the university had emerged as a fully non-denominational institution, devoted to the integration of all aspects of higher education under its own jurisdiction. In conformity with the president's synthetic approach to the debate between empiricism and idealism, the university manifested elements of each of these philosophical schools in its structure and aims. While adopting the idealistic view of the university as an institution dedicated to spiritual progress, the University of Alberta sided with the empiricists in emphasizing scientific research and material progress as means through which to achieve its idealistic goals.

To speak of the University of Alberta in 1928 as "Tory's university" is not to suggest that the president himself was wholly responsible for the pattern of growth of that institution. The attitudes of politicians, professional associations and the public at large had impinged upon the university at every turn in its development thus far. Widespread public approval of the concept of a non-denominational, state-run university had facilitated Tory's own goals in this regard, for instance. And, on the other hand, a small but influential tide of public resistance to Tory's scheme for a single centralized authority over higher education in Alberta had impeded progress towards the president's goals.

Within the context of public opinion and governmental policy, however, Tory's dominant individual influence cannot be denied. Where popular belief parallelled his own view, such as in the case of secularization, he capitalized efficiently upon the opportunity to implement his ideals without fear of opposition. Where criticism obstructed his educational plans, he sought to discredit his critics and to convert a majority of those in power to his views. In this way, he overcame opposition to the notions of a single, state university and of a decentralized system of university faculties.

In terms of the ongoing academic debate between empiricism and idealism, Tory attempted to integrate elements of both philosophical schools into the structure of the University of Alberta. The result was an institution which, contrary to Tory's philosophical goals, but in accordance with his educational methodology, was vulnerable to the influence of empiricism as well as idealism. Tory himself, while confident of the existence and necessity of absolute, divine truth, conceded to science a measure of authority in discerning truth which could ultimately be used to repudiate idealism. In an idealistic vein, he stated that no civilization could survive and flourish in the absence of a transcendental ideal.[14] A divine creative agency existed, in his view, and possessed certain absolute powers.[15] As proof of the validity of idealism, he believed that the world was in fact progressing, intellectually, and spiritually, in the post-war decade.[16]

However, while faithful to the aims of idealism, Tory appeared to view this philosophy as acceptable only so long as it could be justified through rational, empirical investigation. Thus he encouraged friction between ideas as a means of seeking truth.[17] The university was right, he believed, to plant modern science in the midst of old courses, and thus to encourage tension and opposition between traditional and innovative beliefs.[18] By making the value of idealism contingent upon its ability to withstand the challenge of empirical thinking, Tory paved the way for a potentially greater devotion to empiricism than to idealism.

Tory himself would probably have denied such an interpretation of his philosophical outlook. So faithful was he to the tenets of Chritianity, with its emphasis on absolute truth, that he would have been unlikely to concede that science could lead to anything but the confirmation and illustration of absolute principles governing the universe. The possibility remained nevertheless that others, less fundamentally committed to the precepts of idealism, would contend that Tory's concept of absolute truth did not stand the test of empirical reason and thus was unworthy, according to Tory's own criterion, of further belief and propogation.

The potential for the supremacy of empiricism over idealism existed, not only in Tory's philosophical outlook, but in the concrete structure of the University of Alberta. From the outset of the university's development, Tory promoted the enhancement of scientific activities at the university as means of remedying what he perceived as an imbalance in the relationship between humanities and science in that institution. He further spent substantial time and energy in developing a multiplicity of professional schools and in cultivating a strong university role in the practical social and economic development of Alberta. While his ultimate intention in these activities was to assist the spiritual welfare of Albertans, there was no guarantee that his aim would be subscribed to by future university administrators, governments and the public in general.

There was no certainty, for instance, that the science departments and professional schools established under Tory's direction would not be directed simply towards the material benefit of Albertans in future. Neither was it certain that the university would not become a servant, rather than a leader, in shaping and responding to public demands.

During the period 1908 to 1928, Tory's personal presence had been the key to the university's success in controlling educational policies in the province and particularly in protecting the status of humanistic and idealistic principles and fields of study within the university. It was Tory who resisted the initial public pressure to establish an agricultural as opposed to arts faculty; it was he who insisted that professionals possess broad, theoretical, rather than narrow, technical educational backgrounds.

But even while attempting to instill a spirit of idealism in the university, Tory had made extensive use of opportunities to expound upon the material benefits of scholarly work and the usefulness of scientific programs in particular. Although this was done for tactical reasons, that is, to encourage the support of a materialistically-minded public for the overall work of the university, the effect of such a strategy was to heighten public knowledge and appreciation of the material, rather than idealistic, aims of such an institution.

By encouraging both scientific research and scholarly accountability to the general public, Tory laid the basis for a possible future rejection of idealism as the university's overriding philosophical aim. Should the results of subsequent scienfific research challenge the concept of absolute truth, or should future popular opinion denounce idealism, the university would be justified, according to Tory's outlook, in spurning idealism altogether.

As in the case of his theoretical commitment to idealism, Tory would likely have condemned any tendency to renounce idealism as an essential aim of the University of Alberta. At no time during his own presidency was he obliged, under the pressures of scientific discoveries or public opinion, to choose between his belief in idealism as a goal, and his concepts of science and public support as vital factors in realizing that goal. He was able to defend the validity of humanistic as well as scientific and vocational subjects within the university. As well, he was capable of shaping public and governmental opinion so that the university served society by leading it, at least in the realm of educational policy.

With Tory's departure, the onus fell on the new university administration either to continue or repudiate his earlier attempts to strike a balance between the tenets of idealism and empiricism in directing the university. In an ultimate tribute to his empirical belief in the evolutionary nature of society, Tory left the university free to alter its character and role in accordance with the ambitions of successive scholars and residents of Alberta. While apparently confident himself of the superiority of idealism as a governing philosophy of education and life in general, he bequeathed to Albertans in 1928 an academic institution committed, in an empirical manner, to the clash of ideas as the ultimate means to truth and progress.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 8

1. H.M. Tory, "Research Council", n.d., Tory papers, MG 30, Vol. 29, PAC, Ottawa, Ontario.

2. University of Alberta Board of Governors Minutes, 8 October 1923, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

3. Ibid.

4. H.M. Tory, "Research Council".

5. Edward A. Corbett, Henry Marshall Tory: Beloved Canadian (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1954), p. 161.

6. Ibid., p. 171.

7. H.M. Tory, "Research Council".

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.

10. The Gateway, 10 December 1927.

11. The Edmonton Journal, 24 April 1928, quoted in James R. Kidd, "A Study of the Influence of Dr. H.M. Tory on educational policy in Canada" (Ph.D dissertation, McGill University, 1944), p. 93.

12. Ibid.

13. Agnes Wilson Teviotdale, one of the early students of the University of Alberta, Ruth Bowen papers, f. 79-112-14, UAA, Edmonton, Alberta.

14. H.M. Tory, "Facts and Ideas as Factors in Progress", Address to the University Club, Ottawa, December, 1933, MG 30, Vol. 26, PAC, Ottawa, Ontario.

15. E.A. Corbett, Beloved Canadian, pp. 214-5.

16. H.M. Tory, "Some Aspects of Internationalism", n.d., MG 30, Vol. 26, PAC, Ottawa, Ontario.

17. E.A. Corbett, Beloved Canadian, p. 220.

18. H.M. Tory, unnamed address, probably to the Royal Society of Canada, (1940), MG 30, Vol. 27, PAC, Ottawa, Ontario.

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